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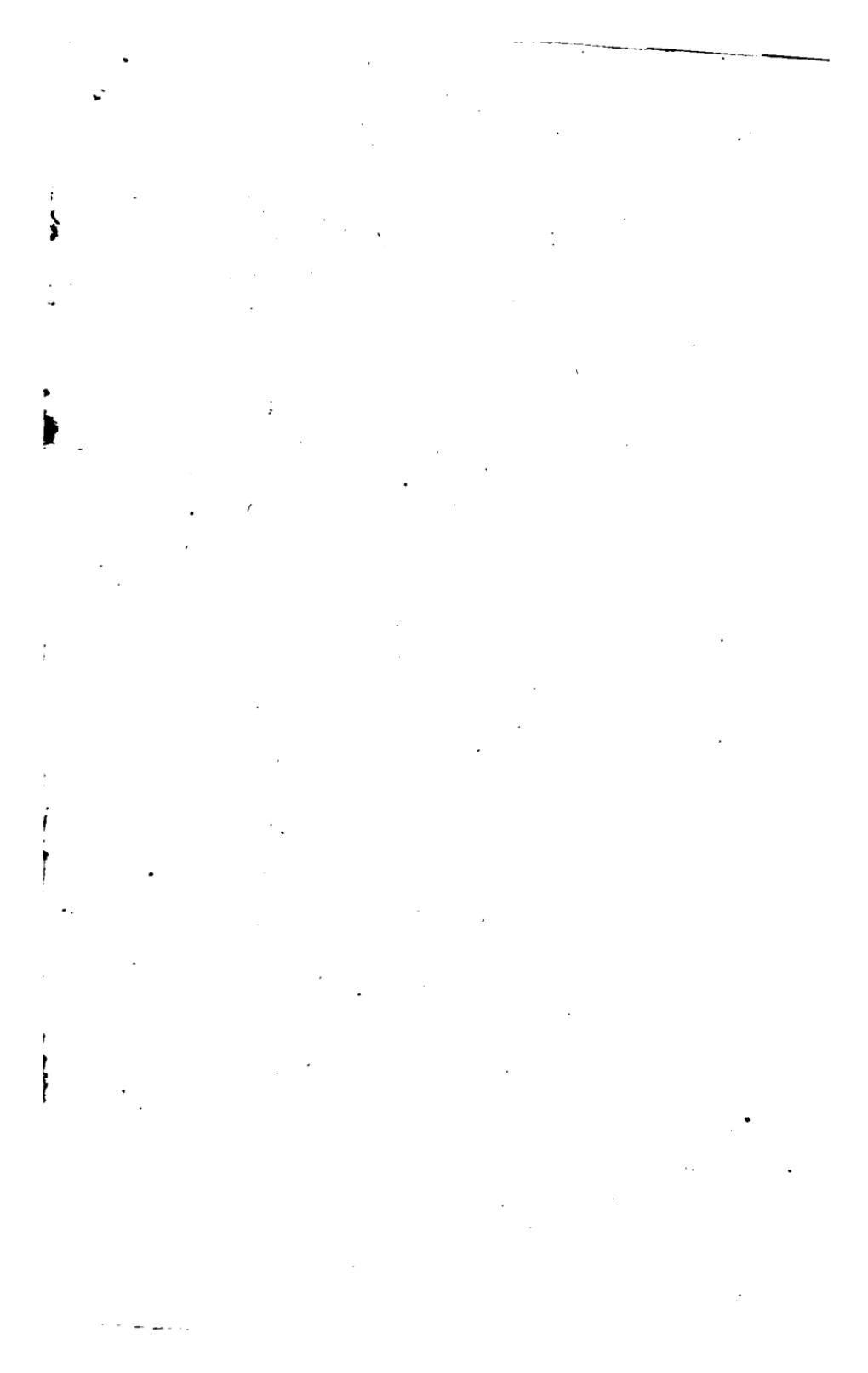
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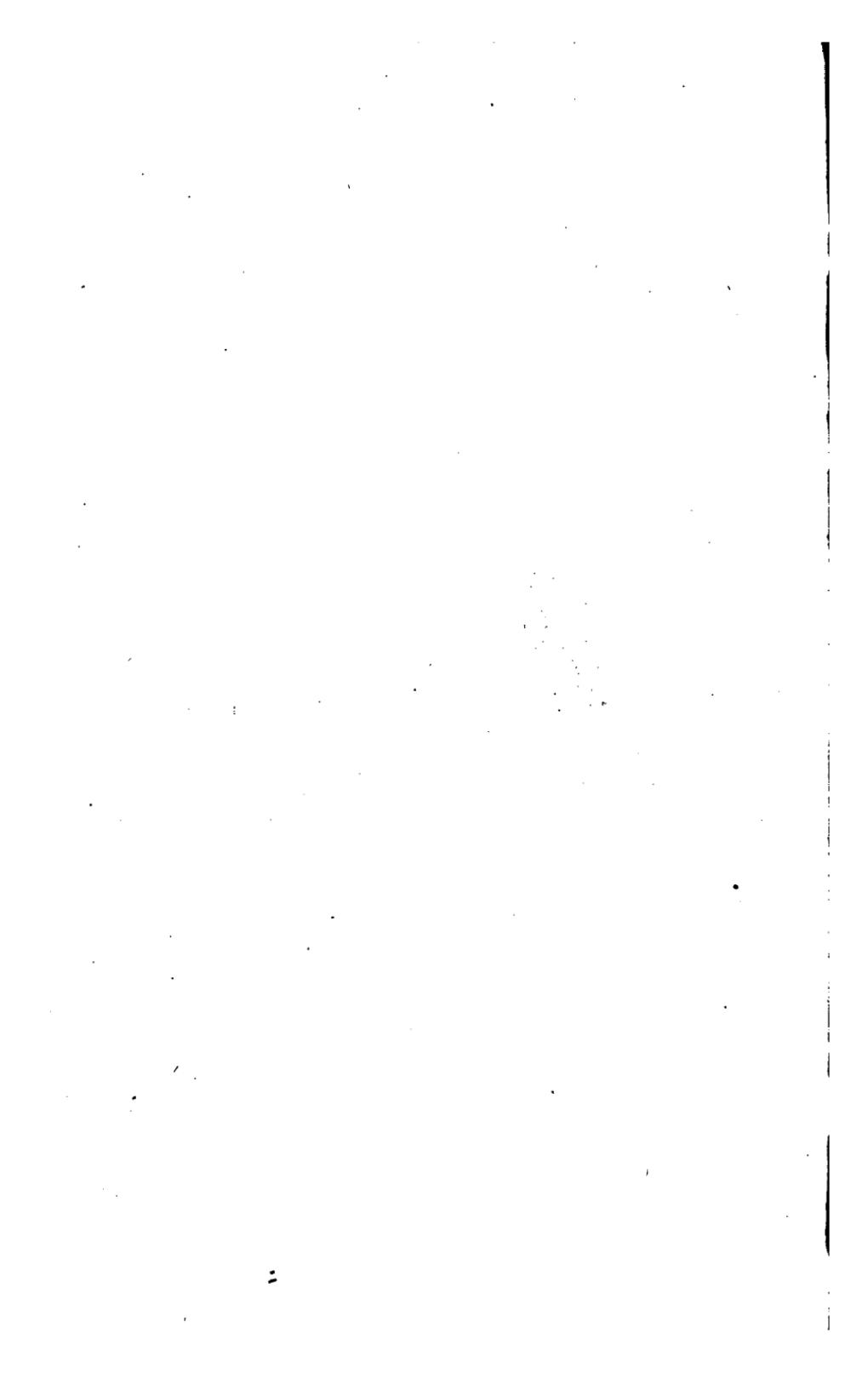
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In Memory of
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BATAVIA ILLUSTRATA :
Or, a VIEW of the
POLICY, and COMMERCE,
OF THE
United Provinces :
Particularly of HOLLAND,
WITH AN
ENQUIRY
INTO THE
ALLIANCES
OF THE
STATES GENERAL,
WITH THE
Emperor, France, Spain, and
Great Britain.

In Three PARTS.

By ONSLOW BURRISH, Esq;

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To the Right Honorable
Sir ROBERT WALPOLE,
First LORD of the TREASURY,
CHANCELLOR and UNDER TREASURER of the EXCHEQUER, One
of His MAJESTY's Most HONORABLE PRIVY COUNCIL, and
KNIGHT of the most Noble ORDER
of the GARTER.

SIR,



A woodcut-style illustration of a man in a small boat, holding a large book or tablet with the letter 'I' on it. He is surrounded by tropical foliage and a rising sun in the background.

ii DEDICATION.

guilty of Flattery, when He does Justice to a Merit, which all the World has either admired or envied. A Description of the established Methods of *Government*, a View of the *Commerce*, and political Reflections on the *Interests* of a neighbouring *State*, could be nowhere so properly addressed, as to a Person who has for many Years sustained the most Important Part, in the Administration of our own.

The just Mixture of *Prerogative* and *Liberty*, which is to be found in the *Constitution* of *England*, has long made It the Envy and Admiration of our Neighbours; but tho' every *Englishman* is ready to boast the Happiness of our Constitution, It will be owned We have not always cultivated It to the best Advantage. The *Commons*, ever jealous of the Power of their *Sovereign*,

DEDICATION. iii

Sovereign, have frequently distressed the Administration, and if They have sometimes had the Glory of bringing illustrious Criminals to Justice, there are likewise Instances to be given, when influenced by factious and designing Men, they have broke in with Violence upon the wisest Measures, and blindly sacrificed their Security, to ill ground-ed, and unseasonable Suspicions.

It has been your Part *Sir*, to reconcile those Divisions which have hindred Us from knowing our own Force, and how well You have succeeded in so generous and difficult a Task, is strongly illustrated by the great Figure *England* has made abroad during your Administration; the natural Consequence of Harmony in the different Parts of our *Legislature*.

The

iv DEDICATION.

The Share You have had in bringing Your Country to this Height of Greatness and Reputation, by which His MAJESTY is enabled to preserve that *Equality of Power*, between the several *Princes* of *Europe*, so necessary to the Welfare both of Them and Ourselves, has been repaid with the Confidence of two great *Princes*; and if You are almost the only *English Minister*, whose Glory It has been to pass from the Service of one *Royal Master* into that of another, with the same Degree of *Trust* and *Power*, yet permit me to say, You are still more eminent for an unexampled Ease and Freedom in the Dispatch of Business, and for that Steadiness in your Friendship, which shines at the Head of those Talents, that have united the Confidence and Goodwill of the People, with the Favour

DEDICATION. v

Favour of the *Crown*, and the Authority inseparable from high Employments.

I am,

SIR,

*Your most Obedient, and
most humble Servant,*

Onslow Burrish.



TO THE READER

HE Importance and Delicacy of the Subjects that are treated in the following Sheets, ought perhaps to have deterred a young Man from attempting Them; but when the Die is once thrown, 'tis fruitless to repine, though the Cast proves against Us.

There are several Errors of the Press in this Book, as in most others, which the judicious Reader will correct, and for other Faults, We are told by a very good Hand, that 'tis in vain to beg Indulgence.

Un Auteur a Genoux dans une humble Preface,
Au Lecteur qu' Il ennuie a Beau demander Grace.*

This I can say, in Recommendation of the Work, that I have every where wrote with Truth, and Impartiality, according to my Judgment.

* BOILEAU.



BATAVIA ILLUSTRATA

PART I.

Of the METHODS of GOVERNMENT,
established in the UNITED PROVINCES.

INTRODUCTION.



AR is often necessary for the Support of *Liberty*, and the ancient BATAVI were Lovers both of one and the other. JULIUS CÆSAR knew their Valour when He opposed Them so successfully to the GAULS, whom B They

They often defeated. The ROMANS Themselves stood in Fear of this warlike Nation. (a) Their *Cavalry* was then the best in the World, and their *Infantry* fought with equal Courage, in Fens and Marshes, as when posted on firm Land; (b) a Quality peculiar to Them, and derived from the watry Situation of their Country. FIDELITY was another Virtue attributed to the old BATAVI, as well as Courage, and accordingly the *Roman Emperors* very often had their Live-Guards from amongt Them. They had the honourable Title of Allies of the *Empire*, in Favour of which They were exempt from all Taxes and Tributes, (c) and after having been some Time associated to the *Empire*, The *Romans* styled Them FRIENDS and BROTHERS, as appears by this Inscription.

Gens Batavorum Amici et Fratres Rom. Imp. (d)

(a) Igitur lacestantibus Batavis Trepidatio orta. Tacit: L. v. p. 535.

(b) Germanorum Cohortem a Cæsaribus olim ad Custodiæ Corporis institutam, multisque Experimentis fidelissimam, dissolvit Servius Galba, ac fine ullo incommodo in Patriam remisit. Sueton in Galba.

(c) Manet honos et antiquæ Societatis insignis: nam nec Tributis contunduntur, tantum in usum Praeriorum sepositi, velut Tela arque Arma, bellis reservantur. Tacit Germanic.

(d) Description historique du Gouvernement des Provinces unies par Monsr. Basnage.

The BATAVI come originally from HESSE; under the Conduct of their *King* BATTON, reduced to fly his Country by the Artifices of a *Mother in Law* who attempted to poison him. (a) The first Place They possessed Themselves of was an Island, formed by the *Waal* and the *Rhine*, which to this Day retains the name of BATAW, from whence following the Course of this last River, They fate down at one of those Places where it disembogues it self into the Sea, and named it CATWICK. (b)

'Tis pretended that CLODIUS CIVILIS derived his Extraction from this *King* BATTON, but be that as it will, He was still more ennobled by his Virtues than his Descent. This Person attempted with equal Policy and Courage to free his Country from the *Roman Servitude*, and was at first successful against CERREALIS; but as nothing is more inconstant than the Chance of War, the *Roman General* being reinforced with the *German Legions*, was Victorious in his Turn, and *Clodius* was at last entirely defeated. (c)

(a) See Basnage ut supra.

(b) Cattorum vicus.

(c) Travellers see the History of Clodius Civilis finely painted by Van Holten in a Cabinet of the States General at the Hague.

The ROMAN EMPERORS were from this Time obliged to build strong Forts, and entertain large Garrisons on the Banks of the Rhine, to repress the frequent Insurrections of the BATAVI, occasioned as well by a native Love of *Liberty* as the *Severity* of the *Roman Commanders*. CONSTANTIUS had two Reasons for ordering the BATAVIAN COHORTS to attend him in the third Expedition He had projected against the *Perians*: first that he might be sure of having *good Soldiers*, and secondly, that he might deprive JULIAN of their Assistance; of whom He already began to be jealous. But the BATAVI would not undertake so desperate a March from one Side of the *Roman Empire* to the other, and took the thing so ill of *Constantius*, that They swore Themselves to a Man the Friends of *Julian*, and vow'd to prove every Danger to set him on the Throne.

Upon the Declension of *Charlemagne's Family*, the *great Officers of the Crown* took Occasion from the Weakness of the reigning Princes, to make their Governments Hereditary in their own Families; and upon these Occasions the Provinces of the *Low Countries* underwent several Revolutions. Very often They were disjoined and separated one from another; and sometimes a single Prince would reunite several of them in Subjection to Himself,

self. 'Tis said that *Radbod* who commanded in *Frizeland* was actually King of that *Province*. (a) *Gelderland* and *Brabant* had their *Dukes*; *Holland* and *Flanders* were govern'd by *Earls*; and *Utrecht* had her *Bishops*, who made *Themselves Masters* of that *City* with all its *Dependancies*. The *meek Prelates* became *warring Soveraigns*, and the *Sword* and *Helmet* often usurped upon the *Mitre* and *Crozier*. Afterwards, when these, and the other *Provinces* of the *Low Countries* came to be united under one Head, as they were successively in the Families of *BURGUNDY* and *AUSTRIA*, They still retained their *distinct* and *antient* Forms of Government. I do not think it very material to give a genealogical account of the *Princes of Burgundy*. 'Tis sufficient to observe that there have been three extraordinary *Revolutions* in the *Low Countries*. The First united them in the *SECOND BRANCH* of the *FAMILY* of *BURGUNDY*; by the second They passed to the *House of AUSTRIA*, and by the third, more bloody than the former, this great *Body* was dismembered of *Seven Provinces*, which were forced to unite for their own *Defence*, whilst the other ten remained in *Subjection*

(a) See *Baßnage* &c. sup. p. 2.

6 B A T A V I A Part I.

to the *Princes* of the *Austrian Family*, or Devolved back to *FRANCE*, either by Conquest or Treaty.

MARY of BURGUNDY, after the Death of her Father LEWIS the HARDY, who was killed before NANCY in 1476, had a mind to marry the DAUPHIN Son of LEWIS XI KING of FRANCE, and the Generality of the *Flemish Lords* wish'd passionately for this Alliance, because most of their Estates lay on the SAMBRE, and they knew very well that LEWIS would not fail to confiscate Them, if their *Princess* married a Stranger. But the *French King* extended the Hatred He had born the *Duke of Burgundy* to his Daughter, and would never consent to the Marriage tho' He flattered the *Flemings* with the Hopes of it. He had projected on the contrary how to divest that *Princess* of all her Territories ; but this Design did not take Effect, notwithstanding the *Treachery* of some *Flemish Men of Quality*, who were over-aw'd and work'd upon to give up several Towns to Him: and the *Princess* irritated at his Behaviour, married MAXIMILIAN Son of the EMPEROR FREDERICK the III, to whom she brought the DUTCHY of (a)

(a) See les Souverains du monde Tom. prem^e, pag. 8.

BURGUNDY and the seventeen PROVINCES of the NETHERLANDS.

This PRINCESS died soon after her Marriage, leaving two Children, PHILIP the *Handsome* and the PRINCESS MARGARET, under the *Tuition* of their *Father*; But the People of GHENT contested this *Guardianship*; made MAXIMILIAN a Prisoner, and ask'd Assistance of the King of FRANCE against him, who was well enough disposed to afford it them; for CHARLES VIII, then at the Head of that *Monarchy*, was already apprehensive of MAXIMILIAN's Greatness, who being elected *King of the Romans*, might very easily become too formidable a Neighbour. In this Fear, CHARLES resolved to aid the *Flemmings*; FLANDERS in Course became the Seat of War; and MAXIMILIAN had abundance of Trouble to reduce and soften the *Obstinacy* of his Enemies.

He was farther traversed by the *King of France*, in the Design he had formed of making an Alliance with the HEIRESS of BRETAGNE, whom *Charles* got out of his Hands; and to aggravate the Affront, sent him back his Daughter without restoring the *Dutchy of Burgundy*, which had been relinquish'd to Him as her *Dower*; upon which *Maximilian* married his Son, PHILIP the *HANDSOME*, to JANE of ARRAGON, Daughter of ISABELLA and

FERDINAND the CATHOLICK, and his Daughter PRINCESS MARGARET, to JOHN PRINCE of SPAIN.

This DON JOHN succeeded to the *Low Countries* in Right of his Wife, but died young, and left only one Son, that did not long survive him; by whose Death PHILIP the HANDSOME came to inherit the Crown, in Right of his Wife, JANE of ARRAGON, Sister to one, and Aunt to the other of the deceased Princes. PHILIP mounted the Throne of CASTILE in 1505, and died in the succeeding Year, leaving his Son CHARLES the 5th, to the Tuition of LEWIS the 12th KING of FRANCE, who remitted the Care of his Education to MONSIEUR de CHIEVRES, one of the principal Lords of the *Low Countries*, who made him says MONSIEUR BASNAGE, the greatest Man of the Age he lived in.

This PRINCE saw himself at once, EMPEROR, KING of SPAIN, MASTER of the SEVENTEEN PROVINCES of the NETHERLANDS, which he united to the EMPIRE under the *Title* of the *Circle of Burgundy*; LORD of both the INDIES, and of the Spanish Territories in AMERICA; with many other *Dominions* and *Pretensions* which it is useless to enumerate. His Life was one constant Pursuit after *Glory* and *Power*; and

and He had well-nigh finished his Career with great Reputation to himself, when in the Year 1555, being weary of Government, and apprehensive that a single Disgrace in the Evening of Life, might tarnish the Memory of his former Actions, He took a Resolution to abdicate his Dominions; which he settled in Part on his Brother *FERDINAND*, to whom He resigned the *Empire*, with the Hereditary Countries of the House of *Austria* in *Germany*; and the Rest on his Son *PHILIP* the SECOND, who had *SPAIN*, the *Low Countries*, his Dominions in *ITALY*, and Conquests in *AMERICA*. *Philip* received the *Netherlands* from his Father in a very flourishing Condition. They reckoned up in that small Extent of Country, above *Three hundred and fifty* walled Towns, and *Six thousand three hundred* considerable Villages, well peopled with expert and industrious Inhabitants, equally proper for War, Commerce and Navigation.

CHARLES the FIFTH chose *Brussels* for the Theatre of his Abdication; whither having convened the States, He renounced in a full Assembly, (leaning on the Arm of *WILLIAM I. PRINCE of ORANGE*,) all *Right* and *Title* to the *Sovereignty* of the 17 Provinces in Favour of *Philip*, Who *Swore to preserve the Priviledges of the Country*; and the *Deputies* at

at the same Time, took the Oath of Allegiance to Him

CHARLES went for SPAIN in the Month of September of the same Year, leaving Philip in the *Netberlands*, having recommended it to Him, to take particular Care of those Provinces, as one of the most considerable Branches of his Dominions. But the NOBILITY and PEOPLE soon felt a Difference betwixt the *Father* and the *Son*. (a) CHARLES had been engaged in several Wars, and had often commanded his Armies in Person; but PHILIP seemed disposed to govern his *Dominions and Forces*, by the Orders which He directed to Them from his *Cabinet*; CHARLES was sweet and affable; PHILIP grave and austere in all his Manners; the *First* spoke the principal Languages of EUROPE, and accommodated Himself with Ease to the Customs of all *Nations*; PHILIP, both in Language and every Thing else appeared entirely *Spanish*; from whence it was concluded, that his Favour would be confined to that NATION; that he would retire into *Spain*, and always govern from thence the Countries which his Father had left Him. CHARLES in his latter Days, had

(a) See Bentivoglio's History of the Wars of Flanders, Part 1. Lib. 1. Page 5.

conceived Jealousies of the NETHERLANDERS on account of RELIGION: That of LUTHER was already established in GERMANY, and CALVIN's had made a great Progress in FRANCE. Both One and the Other, had been introduced into these Provinces, by the Zeal and Intercourse, of those who professed Them in *Germany, France, and England*. The ANABAPTISTS had likewise got Footing amongst Them, who, tho' very different from those of MUNSTER, were, however, equally averse to the CHURCH of ROME. CHARLES had exhibited very *rigorous Edicts* against Those who separated from the *Church*, and 'tis affirmed, that there had already suffered Death in his Time, (b) *about One hundred thousand Persons on account of Religion*. But the Number and Courage of Those who embraced these different Opinions, instead of being diminished by *Severity and Persecution*, increased every Day, and sometimes they had even rescued out of the Hands of the Officers, those who were led to Execution. This had obliged *Mary Queen of Hungary, then Regent of the Low Countries*, to engage the EMPEROR her BROTHER, to come thither.

(a) *Grotius. Ann. Lib. I. Prg. 12.*

that he might be convinced this Rigour only served to inflame the Sore. The same EDICTS, however, were afterwards confirmed by PHILIP, and in Consequence of Them, a multitude of Persons suffered the severest Punishments.

Indeed, The People shewed a ready Disposition for the *Reformation of Religion*, and this made CARDINAL BENTIVOGLIO, say, ‘ That so great an Evil exacted no less powerful Remedies, than those that were applied.’ The GOOD CARDINAL commends these *sanguinary Edicts*, and attributes at the same Time both to *Charles* and *Philip*, a great deal of *Justice* and *Religion*; without reflecting, that *JUSTICE* indisputably consists in rendering to every One That which belongs to H.m; a Virtue, absolutely incompatible with *War* undertaken thro’ *mere Ambition*, of which They made no Manner of Scruple; and with the Oppression of Nations, which was never of the least Consideration with Them.

RELIGION is certainly a Disposition of Mind, which engages Us to render to God, That which is due to Him, or the Observation of those Laws, which he hath given Us in the GOSPEL. The Cardinal could not cite any Precept of It, that commands SOVERAINS to *imprison*, *banish*, *ruin*, or

or kill Those who have different Sentiments of divine Worship from themselves, or the Doctrines of that Theology, which happens to be established in their Dominions; when in other Respects, They conform faithfully to the Civil Jurisdiction. Nor are CHRISTIANS any where commanded to embrace the Opinions, either of their Princes, or of the Multitude, in Cases of Religion, but Those only, which they are *perswaded*, to be conformable to the REVELATIONS of the GOSPEL.

In Defiance, however, to these Principles, both of Reason, and Religion, They established in the Low-Countries, an Extraordinary Tribunal, to cleanse them of what they called HERESY. This Court was filled with CHURCHMEN, and extreamly resembled the Spanish and Italian Inquisitions. The FLEMINGS complained of It in the Beginning, and justly loaded it with the most odious Names, not doubting that its Effects would encrease, as They soon found from the Imprisonments, Confiscations, Corporal Punishments, and cruel Executions, which in a little Time grew common over all the Country. (a)

(a) *Grotius Ann. Lib. 1. Page 10. and 11.*

"Twas not only the *PEOPLE* who cry'd out upon this *Conduct*, but Persons of the highest *Distinction*, for their *Nobility*, *Alliances*, *Services*, *Friends*, and *Employments*. There was a considerable Number of These in the Country, but above the Rest, Two, who attracted the Eyes of all the World. *WILLIAM* of *NASSAU*, *PRINCE* of *ORANGE*, *Governour* of the Provinces of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Utrecht*; and *LAMERAL* *EARL* of *EGMONT*, *Governour* of *Flanders* and *Artois*. These two *Lords*, though equally *loved* and *esteemed*, were of *Characters* entirely different. The *PRINCE* of *ORANGE*, more proper for *Intrigue* than *War*, was a *prudent* *Man* and *penetrating*; *popular* in all his *Manners*; never *speaking* but to the *Purpose*; a *Man* of *Council*; capable to *digest* the most *intricate* *Affairs*, and to *conduct* Them in the *ablest* *Manner*. The *EARL* of *EGMONT*, on the contrary, was more proper for *War* than *Peace*; free in his *Words* and *Thoughts*; more disposed to *familiarize* *Himself* with *military Men* than the *Citizens*; and fitter to advance *Himself* by *Arms*, than to gain *Favour* by the *Address* of a *Court*. The principal *Employments*, were divided between these *Lords*, and such of the *Nobility* as they patronized.

Not one amongst Them had openly appeared displeased at the *Edicts* against the *Protestants*

testants when They were first published. The PRINCE of ORANGE born of *Protestant Parents*, was the only Person the Court was jealous of, who, when He was *Hostage in France*, at the Court of HENRY the Second, for the Execution of the PEACE of CAMBRAI, *discovered* and *advertised* his Friends in the low Countries, that the *French King* consulted with *Philip the Second*, on a proper Method, to exterminate the *Protestants*. The Rest of the *Nobility*, who were not so rich, and had been very expensive, were put to it to support Themselves. They saw with Regret the Dispositions the KING made for leaving Them; apprehensive of losing by his Absence, those Advantages which they had enjoyed whilst CHARLES resided amongst Them. And accordingly They had no sooner penetrated his *Design* of returning into *Spain*, than their Discontent was visible.

The ECCLESIASTICKS, especially the REGULAR ABBOTS, (a) were little better satisfied than the NOBILITY. This ill Temper sprung from the Erection of NEW BISHOPRICKS which it was thought proper to establish, under Pretence that the BISHOPS might take

(a) *Bentivoglio* lib. 1. Page 6.

more Care of their *Dioceſſes*, which were before too large for the *Prelates* to have a ſufficient Eye over the People that depended on Them. But the *Court* was now obliged, for the more honourable *Subſtance* of the *Biſhops*, to ſuppreſſeſeveral *Abbies*, whose Revenues were assigned for their Support; and whereas the *Abbots* had formerly taken Place in the *Assembly* of the *STATES*, They were now forced to relinquiſh their *Rank* to the *Biſhops*, and could no longer command the *Suffrages* of the first Order. One might have ex- pected that the *Clergy* would have ſeen the Erection of theſe new *Biſhopricks* with Pleaſure, which muſt neceſſarily elevate the *Pomp* and *Majeſty* of the *CHURCH*; but It ſeems the *Abbots* did not think the *Dignity* of the *HIERARCHY* by any means an Equivalent for the *Leſs* of their *Revenues*, and accordingly They were full as early in their Complaints as the *Laity*, and expreſſed their Chagrin with all the *Vivacity* peculiär to Men of their *Order*.

PHILIP having reſolved to go into *Spain*, as the principal Part of his Dominions, and from whence He believed He could moſt commo- diously govern the Rest which were very wide- ly diſjoined, the Question was, to whom He ſhould commit the *Goverment* of the *Low Countries*. 'Tis ſaid He was at firſt unrefolved if

He

He should trust so important an Employ to his Cousin CHRISTIANA, DUCHESS of LORRAINE, or to MARGARET DUCHESS of PARMA, who was, his Father's *natural Daughter*. But He soon resolved in Favour of the Latter, who was born in *Flanders*, and whose Husband, the DUKE of PARMA and PLACENTIA, *had a considerable Estate in the Milaneze*, Part of Philip's Dominions in *Italy*; besides which, She offered to send her Son Alexander to the Court of *Spain*. 'Tis added that the Prince of Orange favoured the *Duchess of Lorraine*, whose Daughter he courted; which to a Prince of Philip's Complexion was Reason enough for not giving the Employ in Question to that Princess: and besides this He believed she would be too much influenced by the King of *France*, a Neighbour of *Lorraine*. It was in Conformity to the same Politicks, that Philip hindered the Prince of Orange's Marriage with *Christian's Daughter*, that his Power in *Flanders* might not be augmented by the *Nearness* of that Prince's Territories.

Thus the GOVERNMENT, in Appearance was placed in the Hands of the *Duchess of Parma*; but GRANVELLE, afterwards CARDINAL of that Name, *newly created Archbishop of Malines*, had the absolute Direction and Secret of Affairs. This was a Man of low

C *Extraction*;

Extraction; his Father NICHOLAS PERRENOT,
 (a) Sieur de Granvelle, had advanced Himself
 by his *Address* and *blind Obedience* to the Or-
 ders of Charles the fifth, to the Office of *Se-
 cretary*. He had a Share in the most secret
 Councils, and after having served his Prince
 with uncommon Vigilance, He left at his
 Death, the *same Employments* to his *Son*, who
 was not less *cunning* than Himself, but more
ambitious, and *enterprizing*. BENTIVOGLIO,
 has left Us his Character in the following
 Words. ' He was says He, a Man that had
 ' learned under the Tuition of his Fa-
 ' ther, and in the Management of the Secret
 ' Affairs of CHARLES, to govern *absolutely*,
 ' rather than content Himself with an Au-
 ' thority *limited by Law*: He had passed, adds
 ' He, from the Service of the *Father*, to
 ' that of the *Son*, and had been employed in
 ' the *same Affairs*, with the *same Power*. He
 ' was left with the DUTCHESS of PARMA, as
 ' an *Arbiter* and *Director* of her *Conduct*,
 ' and He did not know how to moderate the
 ' Authority which the KING gave Him Leave
 ' to assume: He was naturally *haughty*, and
 ' *cholerick*, with a Behaviour more proper for
 ' a *Layman*, than an *Ecclesiastick*, He loved

(a) See Grotius Lib. 1. Page 3.

‘ to make an *Ostentation* of his *Credit* with
‘ the KING rather than to hide It ; and to
‘ appear superior to all the World, without
‘ giving Himself any Pain about the Op-
‘ position he might meet with, or the *Envy*
‘ that it might draw on Him ; and This in
‘ a manner, that was rather *imperious* than
‘ *modest*.

It is easy to imagine, that the *Prince of Orange*, and *Count Egmont* could very hardly brook a Man of this Disposition : He had likewise offended *PHILIP of MONTMORANCY* *COUNT HORN*, whom he had hindred from obtaining the *Government of Gelderland*, to which he aspired. Complaints began to be made of Him, by all Sorts of Persons, who could not bear that a *single Stranger* should *govern all*, and trample upon the *NOBILITY* so outrageously ; 'twas every where loudly affirmed, that it was to his *Council*, the *INQISITION* owed its *Establishment* ; and the Complaints were universal, that he had not the least Regard to the *Priviledges* of the *Country*.

The Seeds of Discontent thus propagated during the *Ministry of Granvelle*, broke out into a Flame under the *DUKE of ALVA*, whom *PHILIP* sent some Time after into the *Netherlands* ; where we find Him executing with a *barbarous Activity*

the most rigid Commands of an *unjust Administration*, with a *Rage*, and *Violence*, so unpresidented, that he has been deservedly styled the most *Cruel of Mankind*.

The PROVINCES of HOLLAND and ZEALAND, which had been for several Ages subject to the same *Prince*, were the First to unite Themselves for the Support of their *Liberty*, by a particular Alliance in the Year 1576. (a) The PRINCE of ORANGE WILLIAM of NASSAU, Governor for the *King* of SPAIN over those Provinces, was the *Author* of this *Treaty*, by which they *invested* *Him* with the *supream Authority*, to *govern* and *conduct* *Them*, in all *Matters* relating to the *War*; which they did not *openly avow* to be against the *King* of *Spain*, but in *Opposition* to the *violent* and *unjust Government* of the *Spaniards* and *Strangers*. It is even laid in the eighth Article of the *Prince's Instructions*, that his EXCELLENCY, in the *King's Name*, as *Count* of *Holland* and *Zealand*, should administer *Justice*, by the *provincial Council* of the *Court* of *Holland*. It is no where pretended that the *War* was undertaken, for the support of the

(a) See the second Proof of *Wicquefort's Hist. Dutch and French.*

Protestant Religion against the Popish: Tho' indeed, the *Constraint* that was put upon the *Consciences* of the *Reformed*, could not fail to weigh with Them, but the *Violation* of their civil *Rights*, was in all likelihood a more powerful Motive, and indeed it is evident that the *War* was entered into, for the *Defence* of the common *Liberty*, and *Privileges* of the *Country*, since the *ROMAN CATHOLICKS* engaged in It, equally with the *Reformed*. It was insinuated, however, in the *Preamble* to the *Princes Instructions*, that It was necessary to establish a *sound Regulation* of the *Honour* due to *God*, and the *Propagation* of his *holy Word*; and they go something farther in the *fifteenth Article*, where It is stipulated, ' That as to what respects Religion, ' His HIGHNESS shall admit and main- ' tain, the Exercise of the *evangelical re-* ' *formed Religion*, and shall supersede and a- ' *bolish* the Exercise of all *Religions contrary* ' to the *GOSPEL*. Not permitting, how- ' ever, that any *Constraint* be put on Per- ' sons in *Matters of Conscience*, or that the ' least *Vexation, Injury, or Damage* be of- ' fered to any One: Establishing further, ' with respect to the *Exercise of Religion*, such ' a *Regulation*, as shall be consistent with ' the *State of Affairs*, and of the *Cities*, for ' the

the greater Security and Conveniency of the PEOPLE, preserving a due Regard for the Honour of GOD.' It will be easily concluded, from the known Moderation of the Prince of Orange, that He would not permit Them, to use the least Severity towards any dissenting Body: It seemed but reasonable that as no One was disquieted in the Practice of his Religion, the REFORMED, who made the far greater Number, and were Masters of the Country, should have the Churches for the Use of their Own.

The Example of these two Provinces, drew several others to Unite, who at last entered into an Alliance with Holland and Zealand, which is called the PACIFICATION of GHENT, from being concluded in that Town. But several of these Provinces fell again under the Spanish Jurisdiction. Those who retained their Liberty, are, GELDERLAND, comprehending the COUNTY of ZUTPHEN; HOLLAND, with WEST FRIEZELAND; ZEALAND, UTRECHT, FRIZELAND, OVERISSEL; and GRONINGHEN, which takes in the OMMELANDS, a Country situated between the Rivers Ems, and Lawer. These Provinces entered into a very strict Alliance, on the 3d of January 1579; (a)

(a) See Higgefort's PROS N. 21 & 3.

which

which is called the UNION of Utrecht, and gave Birth to the *Commonwealth of the United Provinces*. There is likewise a great deal of *Moderation* observed in this Treaty with Respect to *Religion*, since each *Province* reserves to Herself, the *Liberty of regulating ecclesiastical Affairs, within her respective Jurisdiction.* (a) They had Reason to order as They did, that the reformed Religion should be the predominant, and that *Those only*, Who were Members of It, should be capable of *bearing Offices* in the State: But They declare at the same Time against *Persecution*, and invite other *Provinces* to join Them, with an express Declaration, that they should be left at Liberty to exercise the *RELIGION of ROME* if They thought fit. It would neither have been *decent*, nor consistent with *natural Equity*, and *Prudence*, for those who had suffered so much under the *Persecutions of ALVA*, to set up a *Tribunal* in *Holland* parallel to That from which they fled; nor to *patronize a murdering Zeal*, the Effects of which they had felt so severely: And in conformity to This, They resolved not only to tollerate the *ROMAN CATHOLICKS*, but all other *SECTARIES* like-

(a) See *Gratius's Apology*.

wise, and instead of employing *Fire* and *Faggot*, to attempt their Conversion by Examples of *Moderation* and *Humanity*.

This *Confederacy* made War upon the *Spaniards* more than two Years, without naming a *Renunciation* of their *Obedience* to the *King of Spain*; till in 1581, (a) the *United Provinces*, by a *solemn Edict* of the twentieth of *January*, made an *ABDI-CATION* of *PHILIP* the 2d, whom they declare to have *forfeited* all *Right* to the *Sovereignty* of the *Low Countries*: The *STATES GENERAL* there describe very well, the *DUTIES* of the *SOVEREIGN*, and the *Infringements* which had been made on their *Priviledges*, by the *King of Spain*. This was their first avowed Attempt for *Liberty*, which they had almost lost in the *Sequel*, and the *Preservation* of It, appears by the *History* of those Times, to have been rather owing to *divine Providence*, than either their *Courage*, or good *Conduct*, how eminent & ever.

The *UNITED PROVINCES* do not form one *SINGLE REPUBLICK*, but are a *CONFEDERACY* of *seven distinct SATES*, Each retaining her proper *SOVEREIGNTY*,

(a) See *Wiequesori's Proofs*, No. 4.

but

but united together, for their common and reciprocal Defence, to throw off the YOKE of ROYALTY, and maintain Themselves in an *Independancy* of all other *Powers*. EACH of these PROVINCES contains several Towns, Who, as so many little States, possess likewise within themselves, several Parts of *Sovereign Power*. Thus, as the STATES GENERAL, can neither make *Peace* nor *War*; form Alliances, or levy *Money* upon the *confederate Body* of the *Union*, without the *express Consent* of each PROVINCE; neither have the PROVINCIAL STATES Power to conclude any One of these Points, without the *unanimous Concurrence* of all the TOWNS, who have a *Right to depute* to their ASSEMBLY.





SECT. I.
OF THE
TOWN *Government.*

THE Supreme Authority of the Towns is lodged in their respective SENATES, or TOWN-COUNCILS. Each City has her distinct Laws, Customs, and Priviledges. (a) The Number of SENATORS is not the same in all the Cities; the *Senate* of AMSTERDAM consists of thirty six

(a) See the *grand Priviledge*, or Dutch *magna Charta*, granted by MARY of BURGUNDY, Anno 1476.

Mem.

Members, Part of whom have the Direction of *political Affairs*, and others the Administration of *Justice*. The Dignity of *Senator* is for Life, unless forfeited by male Administration, or given up by a voluntary Resignation of Burgeship, or a Removal of Habitation. Sir *William Temple*, and after Him, *Monsieur le Clerc*, are of Opinion, that the Senate was formerly elected by a *Majority of all the Burgeses of the Town*, but that to avoid the Confusion inseparable from large Assemblies, *and I may add for other secret Reasons*, the *MAGISTRATES* of a certain *CITY of HOLLAND*, so ordered the Business, that the *PEOPLE* in a general Assembly gave up their Right of *ELECTION*; since which Time the *SENATORS* have filled up all Vacancies in their own Body; and this *Example* has been followed by all the other Towns of the Province. *Monsieur B* * * on the contrary tells us there are no Traces to be found in the *antient Chronicles* of any *popular Election*, and that *William the Monk of Egmont* who speaks so often of the *Town Councils of Holland*, and those that governed Them in the twelve and thirteenth Centuries, makes no Mention of this *Priviledge* of the *People*. It is not very material for us to ascertain which of these Opinions is true. Possibly the first is so, and *Monsieur B* * *

may

may have thought it prudent to own the latter, rather than appear to favour a Sentiment which seems to charge his *Masters* with a considerable Usurpation upon the Right of the Subject. But be this as it will, the *Senate* alone has at present the Power to fill up Vacancies, and direct all other Affairs with a *supream* and *absolute* Authority, *independant* of the *People*; agreeable to This the BURGOMASTERS and SCHEPENS or SHERIFFS of every City, are chosen by its respective *Senate*; the First are always part of its own Body, and to become Burgomaster, 'tis required to have served the Office of Sheriff. There are twelve *Burgomasters* in *Amsterdam*, Four of whom have the Administration of Affairs, and are from thence called REIGNING or REGENT BURGOMASTERS. Of these Three are changed annually, and the Fourth continues in Function a second Year to instruct the new Comers. He likewise presides for the first Quarter, and then gives Place to his *Colleagues*, who in the same manner preside three Months alternatively, till the Year is finished; which Method, though by Experience found ineffectual for the Purpose, was at first very prudently established with a Design to prevent any single Person's acquiring too great an Authority. The REGENT BURGOMASTERS represent the MAJESTY of the GOVERNMENT, and have really all the Force

Force of it in their Hands. Their *Salary* to appearance is inconsiderable indeed, but they have the *absolute Disposal* of all *Posts* that become vacant during their Administration, as well as of the PUBLICK TREASURE and REVENUE of the *Town*. And to prevent all Contention and Animosity about the Donation of Places, They generally agree that each of them in his Turn, shall dispose absolutely of all those that become vacant during the three Months that He is *President*.

In Them is lodged the Power to admit *Strangers* into the *Freedom* and *Burgesship* of their *Towns*, and to *banish* those whom they think proper, without any *previous Process*, or assigning any *Cause* or *Reason* for so hard a Procedure. Nor can the PROVINCIAL COURT of JUSTICE issue any *Mandate* against such an *Act of Banishment* or *Proscription*; neither does there in Reality lie any *Appeal* even to the STATES Themselves; but when Complaints of this Nature have been brought before them, the *Magistrates* have found themselves obliged in common Decency as well as Justice to assign the Reasons that determined Them to so great a Severity.

However, as this may perhaps appear inconsistent with the *Liberty* and *Maxims* of a REPUBLICK, I shall cite the following Examples

amples from an *Author*, who cannot be suspected of Partiality. (a)

‘ The MAGISTRATES of DORT having in the Year 1676, forbid certain Persons to enter their City, These addressed the STATES, who ordered them, first to obey the *Magistrates*, and then permitted them to exhibit their Complaints.

‘ Nine Years afterwards, the same *Town of Dort*, having banished two Brothers, MESSIEURS VANDER MYLE, They demanded Satisfaction from the STATES, who resolved to write to the *Town of Dort*, in order to be informed of the Fact, and to know what the *Magistrates* had to offer, before they would proceed to reinstate Them.

‘ In 1618, two Burgesses of *Harlem* having been banished, they petitioned the *High Court of Justice*, in order to be re-established in their Country, from whence, they said, they had been unjustly expelled. The *Town* justified her Conduct by a publick Writing, and upon this it was resolved, that those, who for the Future, should upon such Occasions

(a) Monsieur *Bagnage* Description Historique, &c. P.61. Sect. ix and x.

address

address themselves to the *Court of Justice*, should be referred to the *STATES* of the *PROVINCE*, or to their *DEPUTIES ad Interim*, 'till the *STATES* should assemble.

Thus far Monsieur *Basnage*. But if the *City Magistrates* are in some Measure obliged to justify *Acts of Banishment*, there are other Kinds of Punishment, and those too, out of the common Course of ordinary *Justice*, which they inflict by *Virtue of the Power* derived from their *Legislative Capacity*; without the least Reference to the *States of the Province*. Thus, at *Amsterdam*, in 1722, They informed me, the *BURGOMASTERS* had very lately condemned an *ADVOCATE* to *perpetual Imprisonment*, for having defended his *Client* with too great a *Liberty*, in a Cause that affected the *Interest* and *Authority* of the *Government*. Perhaps the candid and impartial Reader, will interpret the Behaviour of that unhappy *Pleader*, into an *honest Boldness*, rather than too *licentious* a *Freedom*; but supposing the worst, 'tis hard to imagine *any Degree of Liberty of Speech*, used at the *Bar*, that could deserve so severe a Treatment, utterly inconsistent with that *Modesty* that ought always to be observed in the *Government of a Republick*, as well as the *natural Freedom of Mankind*.

The

The Disposition of the *publick Money* is regulated by a Majority of the *Burgomasters Regents*, who are the only Judges of what is for the *Advantage, Safety, or Magnificence* of the City. But this is not all; They demand a *previous Communication* of all *Propositions* that are designed for the *Deliberation* of the Senate, which They either *reject* or *accept*, as they think proper; for these Gentlemen claim a *Priviledge* of judging of the *Fitness* of all *Subjects*, of which there is a notable Instance in the Person of *WILLIAM the SECOND Prince of Orange*, upon the *Refusal* the Town of *Amsterdam* made to admit Him to an *Audience* in full *Senate*.

‘ If any Person, *say They*, has a *Proposition* of *Importance* to *make*, and demands *Audience* of the *SENATE*, the *Law* directs that ‘ He should *address Himself to the Burgomasters*, and *make them acquainted with his Design*, that they may judge whether the *Audience* ought to be *granted or not*.

From this previous *Communication* of Affairs to the *Burgomasters*, it is in a manner evident that they are virtually *Masters* of every thing that relates to the City *independantly* of the *Senate*; since they have it in their *Power absolutely to reject whatsoever displeases them*, and will certainly never bring a Point into *Debate* when They are not *sure*

to

to carry the Question, The *Town Councils* of *Holland* are of a very antient Institution. Even in the time of the *Counts* there was a Set of Men in every City, elevated to a certain Degree above their Neighbours, who had an Eye to the *Security* of the *Government*, and regulated the *Taxes* that were levied for the Service of the *Publick*. The Authority of these Councils was very much strengthned by CHARLES V. in his *perpetual Edict* of 1540, where that great EMPEROR ordains that in their Elections no Regard should be had to *Consanguinity*, or other *private Motives*; but that Persons should be chosen eminent either for *Birth* or *Merit*; and that instead of preferring Men that would incur the *Contempt* of the *People* by any Weakness in their Conduct, they should even *depose* such after they were elected. How far these Directions continue to be complied with, and what Influence the *Senate*, or rather the *Burgomasters* of *Amsterdam*, may be supposed to have upon the Affairs of the *united Provinces*, will probably fall again under our Consideration in the Sequel of this Discourse.

The *SCHEPENS* or *SHERIFFS* make the chief *Court of Justice* in each City. In *Amsterdam* there are nine, of whom seven are elected annually, and two remain a second Year as in the Instance of the *Burgomasters*.

For this *Election* the *Senate* names fourteen Persons, of whom the *Burgomasters* choose Seven; and as those have the Direction of *Political Affairs*, so the *Sheriffs* have the Administration of Justice, both *Civil* and *Criminal*: But before they condemn a Person to Death, they always ask the Advice of their *Burgomasters* upon the Merits of the Cause, without being obliged, however, to acquiesce in their Opinion, and they sometimes give Judgment contrary to It: But there lies an Appeal from their Sentence, as well in *criminal* as *civil Causes*, to the *high Court* of the *Province*.

Where the Punishment is *capital*, not only the Proof of the Crime is required to be extremely evident, but the *PRISONER* Himself must confess it. Indeed, they employ the *WRECK* and other Tortures, in order to extort Confession, which human Nature can very hardly bear up against: Yet some there have been who have suffered all the Pains they could inflict with wonderful Constancy. And upon this Occasion, the Reader will not be displeased if I give him a short Story which every Traveller is told in *Holland*, of a notorious Delinquent, named *JACQUES* or *JACQUO*; who from the Variety of his Offences, his behaviour upon his Tryal, and his Resolution in bearing every Torture

Torture without owning any Thing, became the Subject of all Conversation. The late CZAR of Muscovy was then at *Amsterdam*, and tho' there was little Appearance of Success, yet ambitious perhaps of prevailing by his *Eloquence*, Where the *Wreck* had been ineffectual; he thought fit to visit the *Prisoner*, and promised to intercede for his Pardon, upon condition *He would confess to Him*. The Story ends thus, that *Jacquo* heard his MAJESTY attentively, and then ask'd him, if *He could keep a Secret?* To which the CZAR having answered, *Yes*; the other replied, *So can I too*, and turned away immediately. The Reader will be apt to wish him his *Pardon*, but his Crimes were of so heinous a Nature, and so fully proved, that the *Magistrates* dispensed with his *Confession*, and broke through the ordinary Methods of Justice to execute *Him*. The *Election* of *Sheriffs* is managed pretty much in the same manner in all the Cities of *Holland*, except *Rotterdam*, where the *Members* of the *Senate* draw *Lots* who shall elect *Them*.

I must not omit to mention another *Court of Justice*, inferior to that of the *Schepens*, which seems extreamly well calculated for the Ease and Relief of the Subject. This Board consists of eight or Ten *Members*, stiled *PEACE-MAKERS*, who are generally, *young Gentlemen* of the *City*, with

one experienced *Magistrate* at the Head of them. They take Cognisance of civil Causes, to the Amount of a certain Sum, which I think, is about Fifty Pounds Sterling. The Method of proceeding is by Way of *Citation*. The *Creditor* Summons his *Debtor* to appear; and after the Fact has been stated, and both *Sides* heard, the *Peace-makers* determine what ought to be done, and order the Parties to comply with It; but there lies an Appeal from their Decision to the *Schepens*.

After the *Burgomasters*, the *Office* of greatest Weight, and Authority in the Cities, is that of *SCHOOUT*, or *BAILIFF*. This Person is entrusted with the Government of the several *HOSPITALS*: the *ORPHANS*, *LUNATICKS*, and other *Poor*, are committed to his Care; and He alone appoints the *Managers*, and *Inspectors* of these poor People. It is his Business to prevent all disorders in the Town: He only receives *Informations*, takes cognisance of all *Crimes*, seizes and commits the *Offenders* to *Prison*, prosecutes Them before the *Sheriffs*, and is charged with the Execution of the *Sentence*. He has likewise the Right of *appealing* from the *Decision* of the *Sheriffs*, to the *Provincial high Court*, when ever he thinks their *Sentence* too favourable to the *Prisoner*. He is, if I may be allowed the

the Expression, the First Minister of the Law; and it is of the utmost Importance to the Subject, That this Office should be execued by a Person of Worth and Integrity: for as the Schouts are the *only Officers* whose immediate Duty it is to prosecute Offences of every Kind committed against the *civil Magistrate*, so it is *notorious* that they often exercile a Priviledge of *commuting with Offenders*, even when the Crimes are of the *blackest Dye*; and for Money, the *Prosecution shall be dropped*, or if the Affair has taken Wind, the *Indictment* shall be laid in *such Terms* as leave the Party Room to evaide it: and by such Practices, this Office is amongst the most *lucrative* in the Country. It is impossible this should escape the Notice of the *Senators*, but as they may all expect to be *Schout* in their Turns, they are contented to act the Part of *silent Observers*, and wink at Practices which must one Day fill their own Coffers. I must not omit one Regulation, which at the same Time that it is highly advantageous to this Officer, contributes very much to preserve the *publick Peace*. This is an *Order* of the *Senate*, which I think prevails in every Town and Village of *Holland*, that no *Chyrurgeon* shall *dress a Wound*, without giving *immediate Notice* of it to the *Schout*; who is by this means, made acquainted with every *Broil or Quarrel*; and as all *Breaches of*

the Peace, such as *Duelling*, *Scouring the Watch*, beating up a *licenced Bordel*, breaking *Windows*, &c. are all punishable in the same manner as *Pilfering*, by *branding or whipping upon a publick Scaffold*, if the *Schout* prosecutes with Rigour, People are very cautious how they offend, and bring themselves under a Necessity of *compounding*.

Every Town has several *subaltern Officers*, of whom the Principal are the *PENSIONARY*, and the *RECEIVER GENERAL*. The *Pensionary* is always a *Lawyer*, and ought to be perfectly acquainted with the *Ordinances* and *Customs* of his City, of which He is the *Mouth* on all publick Occasions. It is his Business to defend the Right of his Town against the *Pretensions* of her *Neighbours*, and He may be very properly stil'd the *first Minister of the Senate*. The *Receiver general* disburses according to Order from the *Regent Burgomasters*.





S E C T. II. O F T H E P R O V I N C I A L G O V E R N M E N T.

E have already said, that each of the seven Provinces is absolute Mistress of Herself, retaining a *distinct* and *separate* SOVEREIGNTY independant of the other Members of the UNION. The *Supream Authority* is lodged in the *united Body* of the DEPUTIES of the NOBILITY and the TOWNS; who are accordingly invested with the Power of enacting *Laws*; of making *War* and *Peace*, as far as regards their own *Province*; coining *Money*; levying *Taxes*; raising *Soldiers*; creating and conferring Offices; and all the other Branches of *absolute* and *sovereign Power*. Each

Each *Province* directs the *exterior Government* of the CHURCH; regulates the Modes of publick Worship; and keeps a watchful Eye over the Conduct of Her *Synods* and *Clergy*; whose Maintainance She provides for, as well as for the *Building*, and *Repairs* of the *Churches*.



OF THE
PROVINCE OF GELDERLAND,



HE ancient SICAMBRI (a) who inhabited *Zutphen* and the rest of the Country now called GELDERLAND, situated between the MAEZE and the RHINE, were the last that submitted to the *Government* of the ROMANS, and the first to shake off their Yoke, upon the *Declension* of the EMPIRE. *Gelderland* was erected into an *Earldom*, in

(a) Ovid speaks thus of the *Sicambri*.

*Nec Tibi deletos, poterit narrare Sicambros
Ensisbus & suevos terga dedisse suis.*

1079, by the EMPEROR HENRY the 3d, in Favour of OTHO COUNT of NASSAU; under which Title his Posterity continued to govern It, 'till the Year 1339, when It was made a DUTCHY, by the EMPEROR LEWIS of BAVARIA, in Favour of RENALD of NASSAU, surnamed the *Red*. It would be the Business of a *general Historian* to take notice of the several Revolutions that may have happened, and the Acquisitions that have been made from Time to Time by the several Princes who have been at the Head of this PROVINCE.

GELDERLAND, such as it is at present, is composed of three Quarters; *Nimeghen*, *Zurphen*, and *Arnheim* of the *Velaw*. The Fourth, called the *high Quarter*, containing the Towns of *Gelder*, *Venlo*, and *Ruremonde*, remained subject to the KING of SPAIN by the Treaty of MUNSTER, and after several Revolutions, *VENLO*, with the greatest Part of the Country was lately given up to the STATES GENERAL, at the same Time that *GELDER* was yielded to the KING of PRUSSIA, and *RUREMOND* with all its Dependencies, reserved to the EMPEROR.* The first Quarter contains the Towns of *Nimeghen*,

* See the 38th Article of the Barrier Treaty, concluded at *Antwerp*, in 1713.

Tiel and *Bommel*; in the second are those of *Zutphen*, *Doesberg*, *Doetecchem*, *Zochem*, *Groll*, &c. and the Third has *Arnheim*, *Harderwike*, *Wageninghen*, *Hattem*, and *Elbourgh*, all which have their distinct Forms of Government and particular Priviledges.

Each Quarter has her own Assembly, which consists of three Representatives of the *Nobility*, and three for each *Town*; whilst the Provincial States are composed of two Deputies from each Quarter; One for the Towns, and the other on the Part of the *Nobility*; between whom the Sovereignty of the Province is equally divided. The COURT of JUSTICE established in the Town of *ARNHEIM*, convenes the provincial Assembly, and has a Power resembling that of the STATES DEPUTIES in other Provinces. The three principal Towns, *Nimeghen*, *Zutphen*, and *Arnheim*, convene the *States* of their own Districts, and preside in their respective Assemblies. *NIMEGHEN* is a very antient Town, and a *Fief* of the *Empire*, to whom she does Homage, and pays certain Acknowledgments. (a)

(a) Ne percio, ha altra, Suggettione con l' Imperio se non una picciola Riconoscenza e' Cirimonia di Tributo, e questo che ogni anno manda per huomo espresso all Aquis grana un guanto pieno di pepe. Guicciard Descrittione p. 157.

MONSIEUR LE CLERC tells us the BUR-
GRAVE of NIMEGHEN is born *Prefident* of the
States of Gelderland, which is contradicted by
others who say he is elected, and 'tis possible
the People may be amused with something
like an Election, at most *pro Forma*, like
that which we see practiced at the *Coro-
nation* of some *Sovereign Princes* in *Europe*,
where the *PEOPLE* are asked if they will have
such a Person for their *KING*. The Town of
Zutphen, singly has an equal Right of making
OFFICERS, and giving PLACES, with all
the little Towns of her District together. The
Magistracy is for Life in this Province ; and the
Nobility have the Priviledge of bearing Of-
fices.



OF THE
Province of HOLLAND.



AMERTUS in his *Panegyrick* to
MAXIMIAN has given us a De-
scription of HOLLAND that an-
swers extreamly well to the
present Condition of a great Part of that
Pro

of that Province. (a) Your divine Expeditions, *says He to that Emperor*, ‘ have extended to a Country so extreamly moist and watry, that it can hardly be called *Land*. Both Men and Beasts leave the Traces of their Footsteps behind them ; and run the Hazard of *sinking* as they walk. Those Parts of the Country which seem dry and firm, quake and tremble under your Feet ; One would think the Earth felt the Weight of the Man she carries, and bent beneath the Burthen. ‘ Tis a floating Mass, which being suspended is never settled. The SEA washes its Shores ; and the WAAL and RHINE enfold and water it with Variety of Windings and Separations. Thus, CÆSAR, your Troops were forced to make a Kind of *Sea-Fight* upon Land ; and combat with the Water as well as the *Enemy*.

WE have already said that HOLLAND was originally governed by EARLS ; but who was the first of These, and how the Succession was continued, or whether there was a regular Succession or not, is extreamly *difficult to determine*. Most Historians agree that CHARLES the BALD, gave the EARLDOM to THIERI, whom He brought at the Head of

a numerous Army, in order to install him in It ; and 'tis added that the same Person was made FORESTER of WASDA in ZEALAND by LEWIS the GERMAN. (a) But *Monsieur B* ** contests both these Opinions, and tells Us that 'twas not the Custom in the Time of *Charlemagne* or his Grandson *Charles the bald*, absolutely to give away the *Soveraignty* of Provinces to those whom They established in the *Government* of them. These *Princes* sent their *Counts* to do Justice to the People, by putting the Laws in Execution ; and to defend Them from the Invasions of their Enemies ; and tho' they might sometimes continue the *Son* of a deceased *Governor* in his Fathers Employments, yet He was by no means *Proprietor* of the Country.

It is not consistent with the Shortness of this Tract, nor is it indeed worth much Pains to determine who was the first *Soveraign* Earl of *Holland*. Who ever He was, his Power was extreamly limited, and we are told He could not assume the Government without the *Consent* of the *Nobility* and *People*, whose Oath of

(a) WASDA, certain Lands so called from being frequently covered with Mud and Slime thrown upon Them by Inondations. VASE, is an old French Word which in certain Provinces of France is still understood to signify Mud or Slime.

Allegiance was *relative* to that which the *Count* took for the Preservation of their *Priviledges*. It is not long since They shewed a little Hill near *Hemskirk*, upon which the old *CANE-MARIANS* used to mount the *Earl of Holland* on the Day of his *Inauguration*, and receive his *Oath of Government*; which being repeated in all the considerable Towns of the Province, They then sent Him such a Tax, as they had thought fit to impose upon Themselves, which we may be sure was moderate enough; nor did They think Themselves obliged to pay any Thing when their Earl did not reside amongst Them. And thus the Historians of that Time take notice that *EARL WILLIAM* who was elected *KING of the ROMANS*, and had a considerable Share in the Intrigues and Politicks of that Age, was obliged to come into *Holland* from time to time, in order to receive his Revenue, which some Cities refused to pay in his Absence. They tell us of three Circumstances only, which authorized the *Counts* to demand extraordinary Supplies of the People. The *first* was the *MARRIAGE* either of their *Children, their Brothers, or Sisters*; the *second* when any near Relation was made a *KNIGHT*, a Ceremony in those Days performed with a great deal of Magnificence; and lastly when They were cited to attend the *EMPEROR*, whose Vassals They were, either in

in his Wars, or upon any other Occasion. In such Cases not being able from their own Fund to support the necessary Expence, They were obliged to have Recourse to the Subject, whose natural Fierceness of Temper and Hatred of Servitude being cherished and improved by so great a Liberty, the *Government* was upon every Occasion disturbed with Complaints and popular Commotions.

But when the *Province of Holland* became subject to the DUKES of BURGUNDY, Those Princes, who could not be present in every Part of their Dominions, nor govern Them according to their distinct Privileges, were obliged to change the antient Form of Government, and create two new Offices in *Holland*, one of which was that of CITY COUNT, which answers to the modern *Sohout* or *Town-Bailiff*; and the other that of the provincial STADTHOLDER, or VICE COUNT, who took care of all Affairs relating to the *Soveraignty*; regulated the *Taxes*, and convened the *Provincial States* when new ones were to be imposed.

The *Provincial Assembly* was not instituted however till the Beginning of the fourteenth Century; and then the Right of convening It was entirely lodged in the *Stadholder*, who called the *Nobility* and the *Deputies* of the principal Towns together, and addressed himself to them

them in the Name of his Master. But 'twas not long before the States assumed the Priviledge of assembling without the Interposition of the Governor, whenever they had a mind to debate upon any Point of Importance. We find WILLIAM I. PRINCE of ORANGE contesting this with Them in Right of his Master Philip 2d. THE PRINCE affirmed that the States could not assemble without his Order, as *Stadholder* of the *King of Spain*; to which they answered, that when new Taxes were to be imposed. the *Stadholder* had indeed a Right to convene Them; but that upon all other Affairs, when either former *Laws* were to be *revised*, the *publick Accounts inspected*, or when any particular Interest of the *Province* required It, They had a Right to assemble upon the Citation of the *Receiver*, or *Advocate General* of the *Province*, which last Charge answers to the modern post of *Grand Pensionary*. The Dispute was brought before the DUTCHESS of PARMA, then GOVERNESS of the NETHERLANDS, who determined in Favour of the *Province*, in hopes without doubt to have softned the present ill Temper of the People; but the Prince obtained an Order from the same Hand, forbidding the States to assemble without his Permission; of which the Town of *Dort* immediately complained, and the Dispute was not terminated, when the ensuing Troubles destroyed

destroyed the antient Form of Government, and introduced a new One, the Description of which, we are now entering upon.

The STATES of HOLLAND, consist of the NOBILITY, and the *Representatives* of those Towns which have a Right to depute to the *Provincial Assembly*. It depends on the Nobles to fill up the Vacancies that happen in their own Body, and to augment their Number as They please; but to capacitate a Person for that Election, he must be possessed of a LORDSHIP, or a FIEFE NOBLE in the Province. They have the *first Rank* amongst the *States*, and the *first Vote* of *Nineteen*, which determine the Resolutions of that *Assembly*. They are understood to give their Votes *proprio Jure*; and 'tis to preserve that Distinction, that the *States* insert this Clause in their Resolutions, (*The LORDS, CHEVALIERS; The DEPUTIES of the Towns, in the Name, and on the Part of the BURGOMASTERS and REGENTS of the said Towns consent, &c.*) But notwithstanding this, the whole Body of the Nobility have but one Voice, which is pronounced by the GRAND PENSIONARY, as *Pensionary of their Order*. They

E possit

possess CHURCH and ABBEY LANDS to a great Value; One of their Body is always a Deputy to the *States General*; They have a Second in the *Council of State*; a Third in the *Council of States Deputies*, where he is always *President*; Two more are *Commissioners* of the *Admiralties* of *Amsterdam* and *Rotterdam*; Two are Members of the *high Court of Justice*; and for 30 Years past, They have had Two more in the *Direction* of the *East India Company*; all which Employments are for Life.

Whilst the *Province of Holland* remained under the Government of her *Earls*, even down to the Time of *PHILIP the 2d*, The Towns which had a Right to depute to the provincial *Assembly*, were only Six: *Dort*, *Harlem*, *Delft*, *Leyden*, *Amsterdam*, and, *Tergow*; but in 1579, when the *Union of Utrecht* was formed, *William Prince of Orange*, either for encouraging the Country the better to resist *Spain*, or to establish his own Authority, invited the *small Towns* to send their *Deputies* to the *Provincial Assembly*, where all those who came were admitted, and still retain that Priviledge. These were, *Rotterdam*, *Gornickem*, *Schedam*, *Schoonhoven*, and the *Brill*, in *SOUTH HOLLAND*: *Horn*, *Enchuyzen*, and *Medenblick*, situated according to the old *Division of the*

Part I. ILLUSTRATA, &c. 51

the Country, in *WEST FRIESLAND*: And *Alkmaer*, *Edam*, *Monikendam*, and *Purmurent*, in *NORTH HOLLAND*. The Distinction of great and small Towns, is so far kept up, however, that in *South Holland*, only the *seven First* have a Right to depute to the *Assembly of the States General*; *Gornichem*, which is the Eighth, deputing only to the *Council of State*; as *Horn* and *Enchuyzen* in *West Friesland*, and *Alkmaer* in *North Holland*, are the only Towns in their respective Districts, which send their Members to both those Assemblies. Each City sends what Number of Deputies she pleases to the Provincial Assembly, because they have jointly but one Voice; and the little Town of *Skedam* or *Purmurent* has as plenary a Right as the most powerful, and opulent.

The Persons deputed by the Cities to represent them in the Provincial Assembly must be always taken out of their respective *Senates*; there is constantly a *Burgomaster* at the Head of the Deputations, with the *Pensionary* and a *Secretary* of the Town, who are those, that in Conjunction with the *Nobility*, represent the *Sovereignty* of the Province.

In 1580 the *States* made a Resolution to admit no Person into their Assembly, who was not deputed by the *Magistrates*, or the *Town Councils*; which, in my Opinion implies a Doubt that some other Power, It may be the *United Body of the Citizens*, had a Right to depute; and this seems to justify the Opinion of Sir *William Temple*, that the Right of *Elections*, *Deputations*, &c, was originally lodged in the *People*. (a)

No Person can be a Member of this Assembly, unless he is born in *Holland*, *Zealand*, or the *Province of Utrecht*. All others are deemed *Aliens*, and, as such, excluded the *Regency*. Even *Acts of Naturalization* do not capacitate a Person to enjoy the Dignity of the Province; and because Those who have been in this Manner adopted Subjects of the *Republick*, have thought Themselves justly entitled to a Share in the Honours and Dignities of It, and have often disputed their Pretensions with a great deal of Vigour, the *States* came to a Resolution, to insert in all *Acts of Naturalization*, That They

(a) See pag. 27.

are given *ad Honores*. This Exclusion is grounded on the Practice of the *old Romans*, who frequently naturalized whole Cities, as well as particular Persons, but would not suffer Them to have any Share in the *Government* of the *Republick*. The Children of Persons so adopted, had an equal Right, however, amongst the *Romans*, with any other Member of the Commonwealth; and therefore the *municipal Laws* of some particular Cities in *Holland*, which exclude the Descendants of Strangers for several Generations, from being Members of the *Senate*, seem to Me unequitable, and as inconsistent with the *primitive* and *fundamental Maxims* of the *Republick*, as they are cunningly contrived to *perpetuate* the Dignities and Authority of the City, in the same Families; than which, nothing can be a greater Breach on the *Liberties*, and *natural Property* of the *Subject*.

The *STATES* of *HOLLAND* enjoy an entire *Liberty of Speech*, and are only responsible for their Actions to the Town which deputes Them, without being liable to be called in *Question* by any Authority, or cited to appear before any *Tribunal* during the Time of their *Session*, on any Cause or *Pretext* whatsoever. They assemble, according to ancient *Custom*, four Times a Year

to fill up the vacant Offices that depend on Them, renew Grants, and consent to the Continuation of old Taxes, and the Imposition of others, for raising such Supplies as may have been granted by their *Deputies* in the *States General*, for the Service of the subsequent Year, and the Preservation of the *Union*. But upon extraordinary Occasions, They meet as often as their *Deputies* in the *Council of State* think fit to convene them

Each Member, at his first Appearance in the Assembly, is obliged to take an *Oath to maintain the Rights, Priviledges, Immunities, Laws, and Customs of the Country*; to give his *Vote according to his Conscience*, for the common Happiness and Prosperity of the Province and the States, without *Hatred, or Affection for the Interest of any Town or Person in particular*; to execute all *Resolutions, Orders, and Commissions*, with *Fidelity*; and to keep *inviolably*, all Secrets that shall be enjoined him.

When Posts become vacant, that are in the *Gift of the States of Holland*, the several Towns of the Province, are particularly informed of It, that they may have Time to make an *advantageous Choice, for the Good of the Publick*, of those that shall succeed; and when the Thing comes to be debated,

bated, if any *Member* of the *Assembly* be a *Candidate*, He is obliged to withdraw, that the *Debate* may be managed with greater *Freedom*; and those who are elected must swear They have neither given nor promised any thing to obtain their *Employments*.

The **GRAND PENSIONARY** of **HOLLAND** is the Person who proposes the Subjects of *Debate* in this *Assembly*, collects the *Suffrages* of the *nineteen Representatives*, pronounces the *Resolution*, and dictates the *Terms* in which it shall be enregistered. This *Officer* is properly the *Minister*, and *Servant* of the *Province*, and as such takes Place *below* the other *Deputies*, tho' his *Credit* and *Authority* is much superior to that of any other *Member* of the *State*, unless we except the **TREASURER GENERAL** with *Regard* to *Domestic Affairs*. He is indeed obliged to resign his *Commission* every five *Years*, and there are perhaps in the *History* of the *Republick*, two or three *Instances*, when the *Demission* of the *Pensionary* has been accepted of: But this happens so rarely, that we may venture to say He is *perpetual*; and from thence arises in a great measure the *Importance* of this *Minister*, as well as from the *Functions* of his *Office*. The *Pensionary* has his *Seat* in all the *Courts* of the *Province*, and ought always to be a Person perfectly acquainted with her *Interests*, Master of her

Laws, and capable to *illustrate*, and *explain* upon the several Propositions He makes to the *States* : whence it will happen that the Turn He gives to Affairs in *stating the Question*, shall often determine the Debate agreeable to his Sentiments. What still gives this *Minister* greater Weight, is a Priviledge of making a *Remonstrance* to the *Assembly* even after the Debate is ended, and of refusing to conclude *according to the Plurality of Voices*, when He judges the Resolution may be prejudicial to the *Republick*. As this Post confers great Honour and Authority, so it is not without Danger ; especially, when there is a *STADTHOLDER* in the Country, and He happens to quarrel with the *States*, or some of their Members ; of which *OLDEN BARNEVELT*, and *MONS. DE WIT* have been terrible Examples. The keeping of the *publick Registers*, and the *great Seal* of the *Province*, is entrusted to this *Minister* : for which He has a particular Commission. He is always a *Member* in the *Assembly* of the *States general*, as a *Deputy of Holland*. *GROTIUS*, defines Him to be *Vox publicæ Libertatis ; præit suadendo, compunit Dissidentes.*

Of

Of the Council of STATE.

AFTER the STATES of HOLLAND, the Court of greatest Authority is the PROVINCIAL COUNCIL OF STATE ; which consists of one Representative of the *Nobility*, One for each of the eight great Cities of *South-Holland*, and Another for the three inferior Towns of *Schedam*, *Schoonhoven*, and the *Brill*, whom They chuse *alternatively*, and change every two Years. The *Deputy* of the *Nobles* has a Commission constituting Him such for three Years, but He is usually continued for Life, whilst Those of the Towns are generally changed at the End of that Term. The *grand Pensionary*, and the *Secretary* of the *provincial States of Holland*, have their Seats in this Council ; the *Pensionary* has a Right to debate ; proposes the Question, and forms the Conclusion as in the Assembly of the *States* ; and the *Secretary* draws up and registers the Resolutions. The Functions of this Council are highly considerably. She *convenes* the *States of Holland*, and prepares Business for them ; executes all the Resolutions of that Assembly ; superintends the Administration of the *Finances*, and hears Causes that arise from Disputes between the *FARMERS* of the publick Taxes,

Taxes, and Those that either refuse the Payment of Them, or endeavour in a fraudulent manner to evade It. Upon these Occasions, and especially in Cases of *Fraud*, the Demand of the *Farmer* is *ad Libilitum*, and generally most exorbitant; proportioned rather to the *Circumstances* of the *Offender* than the Consequence of the *Offence*; and the *Council* is under a Kind of Necessity of being favourable to the *Plaintiff*, that *He may have no Pretence for delaying his Payments to the Receiver General of the Revenue*. From hence arises a greater Facility in collecting the *Inland Duties of Holland* than can well be imagined; for as no prudent Person will run Himself into the Possibility of paying a thousand *Pounds*, or a much larger Sum, to save (we will suppose) the Duty of a *Barrel of Soap*; so every Man is careful to have a *Book of Rates* in his Family; to calculate exactly what is the *Farmer's Due*, and send it him with the same Care and Expedition, which is afterwards observed in getting the Goods for which They have paid the *Duty*, into their own Warehouses. The *Council of State* takes Cognizance of all *fortified Towns and Garrisons* that depend on the *Province of Holland*; orders *Reviews* of the *Army*, and punishes Mutinies and other Crimes committed by the *Soldiery*. She nominates the *Town Majors* of *fortified Places*, and disposes of

of all subaltern Commissions below the Rank of *Captain*. Her Members have a Right to sit with the *States General*, and upon Debates of Importance, the whole Board is there, but in the usual Course of Business, only Two of them are present, who are succeeded monthly by Two of their *Colleagues*. These Gentlemen at their Admission into the Council, are obliged to swear, that they have neither *given nor promised any Thing, for their Employments*, and that they will give their Opinions according to their *Consciences*, for the *publick Good*, preferably to the Interest of any particular Town, *even of that which deputes Them*.

THERE is a Court of the same Nature in *North Holland*, consisting of Deputies from all the Towns in that Quarter, who are changed every two Years ; and these two *Councils* meet annually in the Month of *November*, to settle in Conjunction with the *Deputies of the States General*, what the *Dutch stile, l'Etat de la Guerre*, or, *the necessary Funds to be levied in the subsequent Year for the Service of the Army*. The Secretary of the *North-Holland Council* is always a *Commissioner of the Revenue*.

There are in *Holland* two principal *Chambers of Accompts*, of which the First is for the ancient *Revenue of the COUNTS of HOLLAND*, that devolved on the *States* when They threw

threw off their *Allegiance* to the *Spaniard*, composed of four *Ministers*, a *Sollicitor*, two *Auditors*, and a *Secretary*. Offices, that have always afforded an honourable and lucrative Retreat, to those who were grown old in the more laborious Employments of the State, and had behaved themselves with *Prudence* and *Integrity*. But as the *States* have now begun to sell the *old Demesns* of the *COUNTS*, this *Chamber* becoming useless, will in all probability be laid aside. The *STADTHOLDERS* have always elected the Members of this Board, from a double Nomination of the *States*. The other *Chamber* audites the *Accompts* of the ordinary *Revenue*, and the extraordinary *Taxes* that are imposed in Time of *War*. There is a third *Chamber of Accompts*, in *North Holland*, composed of Deputies from all the Towns of that Quarter.

For the Administration of *Justice*, there are two Courts held at the *HAGUE*, called, the *COURT OF HOLLAND*, and the *HIGH COUNCIL*. The Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand* have been always so strictly united, as to have but one common high Court of *Justice*, and accordingly, That of *Holland* is composed of a *President*, with eight *Counsellors* of the *Province*, and three for *Zealand*, a *Sollicitor*, two *Attorneys*, a *Register*, and six *Secretaries*:

Secretaries: and by a particular Agreement, *Holland* chuses the *President* two Years, and *Zealand* the Third.

But notwithstanding the strict Union that has subsisted between these *Provinces*, They have frequently had Disputes concerning the *Jurisdiction* of this *Court*, of a very high and delicate Nature. In 1656, *Holland* insisted, That as the *Courts of Justice* had their Residence in that *Province*, She ought, consequently, to retain a supream Authority over Them, with a Power either to *extend* or *restrain* their *Jurisdiction*, and *interdict* them the *Cognisance* of Affairs in which the *Interest of the Sovereign* might be concerned. But this was very warmly contested by *Zealand*; and at last It was agreed, that tho' the *Province of Holland* was, indeed, invested with the *Sovereign Power*, yet She should not be at Liberty to make any Alteration in the Methods of administering *Justice* already settled between the two *Provinces*, because they had both mutually obliged themselves to the observance of them. (a) This was not so well reconciled, however as to prevent future Disputes: And in 1674, (b) the *States of Holland* came to

(a) Resolutions of the *Province of Holland*. Aug. 11. 1656.
and June 15, 1661. (b) Third Book of *Placarts*.

a Resolution to reserve to Themselves the Decision of all *Political Affairs*, as *properly appertaining to the Duty of the Sovereign*, in the same manner that the Administration of *Justice* fell naturally within the *Authority and Jurisdiction* of the *Courts*. And this Resolution They have maintained, notwithstanding the several Remonstrances that have been made, both from the *Courts*, and the *Province of Zealand* against It.

The Members of this Council are excluded from being *Magistrates of Cities*, *Directors of the Trading Companies*, or enjoying any *Post*, or other *Salary*, than that which is annexed to their Office; that They may be left free and unbiased, for the impartial Administration of *Justice*. The *Nobles of Holland* are subject to the Jurisdiction of this Court, before whom they plead in the first Instance. The *City Schouts* or *Bailiffs* are likewise liable to be cited hither, and upon a Complaint They are sued by the *Solicitor*; but he has no Share in the Fines set on Them, as They have in Those that are imposed on Delinquents, convicted in their Respective Cities.

Appeals lie to this Court, from the Sentences of the *Sheriffs*, in the several Towns, of both Provinces, and She Judges in the last

last Resort of all *criminal Cases*, and of *civil Causes* to a certain Sum, after which, there lies an Appeal to the *High Council*

The HIGH COUNCIL of *Holland* and *Zealand* was first Instituted in 1582, instead of the GRAND COUNCIL of *MALINES*; whither all Appeals had been carried in the last Resort of Justice, before the Separation of the *Seven Provinces* from the *Spanish Monarchy*. But that Revolution being once effected; it was no longer practicable for the Subjects of the *States General* to have Recourse to a City in the Domination of *Philip II*, and this necessitated the *Prince of Orange*, to establish the *Tribunal* we are now speaking of, to which he hoped the People of the *United Netherlands* would all appeal, as they had done before to that *Malines*: But in This, his *Highness* was mistaken. The *Provinces of Holland* and *Zealand*, however, concurred in the Design; and accordingly the *Court* is composed of a *President* with six *Counselors* for *Holland*, and three for *Zealand*, a *Register*, and a *Substitute*, who are invested with a very high and extensive *Jurisdiction*. They judge peremptorily, and definitively of all *Cases* brought before Them, by an Appeal from the *Court of Holland*, and give *Judgement*, from

from which there is no farther *Appeal*, except by way of *Revision*, or *Remonstrance of Error*; for which the *States of Holland* name five Commissioners, who are added to the former Judges: But this Revision is made upon the same Proofs and Circumstances that were before exhibited, without permitting either Party to make fresh Allegations.

I must not finish my Account of this *Province*, without remarking the *Lenity of the Law* towards *Debtors*. Never was there such large Credit given to all sorts of Persons as in *Holland*, and never any Country where so few languish in *Prison*. In 1721, those confined for Debt in *AMSTERDAM* were not more than *five and Twenty*. A trifling Number for a *City* which has, at least, as many *trading People* as *London*. The same *Lenity* is observed all over the *Province*, from whence, it is generally, tho' falsely understood, that the *Dutch* are naturally merciful, whereas they are, in reality severe and rigid; but their *Laws*, in this Respect, are gentle indeed; and it may be, owe their Being to that cruel Disposition of the People, to which they are in themselves so opposite. For before it was enacted, *That the Creditor should support his Prisoner with a certain Allowance, to be settled according*

according to the Pleasure of the Magistrate, the Prisons were crowded with miserable Men as They are in *England*; of which the STATE could not but take notice at last, and from thence fell upon means to prevent the *Loss of* so great a Number of Subjects to the Public, by *an unuseful Detention*. And as those who owe but little, are secured from the Persecution of their Creditors, *by the Necessity of maintaining Them in Prison*. So those whose Debts are large, have an effectual method to avoid *perpetual Imprisonment*, by conforming to the *Laws* relating to *Bankrupts*. When any Person acquaints the *Magistrates* with his *Insolvency*, and lays before Them an exact Account of his Circumstances, They immediately order the *Commissioners of Bankrupts* to possess themselves of his Estate, and *exempt his Person from all Arrests for six Weeks*; which Time is allowed him to *compound with his Creditors*. But if his Endeavours prove ineffectual, which seldom happens when his Failure appears to be fairly owing to Losses and Misfortunes, the *Commissioners* at the End of that Term sell his *Estate*, and make a *Dividend* at an *Average* to the *Concerned*; after which the *Magistrates* *acquit and exempt him from all Claims, whether foreign or domestic*: Nor is it in the Power of any, or all of his Creditors, to hinder this when the Failure is not *fraudulent*.

F

Another

Another Method of obtaining absolute Freedom in *Holland*, still more expeditious than the Former, is for the *Debtor* to apply to the provincial *high Court of Justice*, represent his Condition, and give up all he has upon *Oath*; after which he is exempted as before from all future Claims; and is again free to undertake what ever *Commerce* He pleases; But if the *Bankruptcy* be fraudulent, and the *Debtor* takes a false *Oath*, the *Magistrates* are authorised to punish Him *ad Libitum*, even with *Death* Itself, if They think fit.

I will not take upon me, either to blame or approve this Facility with which the Party declares Himself a *Bankrupt* and obtains his Discharge. Certain it is, that fraudulent *Bankruncies* are frequent enough in *Holland* as well as other Countries; and that we hear very seldom of any Person's suffering *capitally* on that Account. But for the *Law* which directs the *Creditor* to *maintain his Debtor in Prison*, the good Effects of It are visible upon the whole *Community*. I remember when the *Bill* for preventing *frivolous Arrests*, &c. depended in *Parliament*, one Argument brought against it was, that it would destroy the *Credit* given to the inferior People. But if we may conclude from Experience, This will certainly be found without Foundation; for as I have observed above, there is no where so much *Credit*

dit given to all Degrees of Persons as in *Holland*, tho' there be no such Thing as a personal Arrest, *before the Party has been summoned three Times*; unless Oath can be made that He is about to fly the *Country*, This Effect the Law has indeed, that every Man is obliged to take care of his Character. A *dissolute* Person would not have any Credit in *Holland*; and therefore all are under a Necessity of establishing a certain Degree of Reputation proportioned to their several Conditions; or for Want of this to *preserve at least a Weeks Wages before hand*, without which it would be impossible to subsist.

If the *Method* of treating *Bankrupts* in *Holland* be not perfect, ours in *England* is I think much less so. In *Holland* the Expence of going thro' an *Act of Bankruptcy*, even before the *high Court at the Hague*, is not above twenty *Pound Sterling*; with *Us* It is *four score or a Hundred*. In *Holland* the *Magistrates* are *Judges of the Truth or Deceit of the Debtor*, and use *Him* accordingly; with *Us*, tho' the *Commissioners* are of Opinion that the *Certificate* ought to be allowed, the *Creditors* have it in their Power to hinder it; and this puts many upon Practices to make what they call *two Thirds in Number and Value*, that are extreamly fraudulent and iniquitous. In *Holland* the *Degree of Punishment* in Cases of *Fraud*,

is left to the Magistrate ; in *England* the *Law* admits no *Medium*, but pronounces either *Death* or an *Acquittal* ; which must naturally make a *Bankrupt* doubly cautious in his *Methods* of *Secreting* his *Effects*, and very often hinders his being detected, through a certain *Tenderness* which the *Generality* of *Persons* have for *another's Life*, who would perhaps appear against *Him* were the *Punishment* any *Thing* less than *Capital*.

With Regard to *personal Arrests*, our *Law* has indeed been lately softened ; but surely there remains a further Reformation to be wish'd for. Not only in *Holland*, but in *France*, *Flanders*, *Italy*, the free Towns of *Germany*, and I believe I may add every other Country except *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, the *Debtor* is either *maintained* in *Prison* by his *Creditor*, or discharged upon giving up his all. In *Holland* the *Law* is inexorable towards *Criminals*, but indulgent to *Debtors* ; we on the contrary are favourable to *Delinquents* of every Kind, and cruel even to *Oppression* where we have any *Demand*. This has long been a great and just *Reproach* to Us amongst our *Neighbours*. It may be said without *Partiality* that *England* is a very generous Nation ; It is remarked by *Foreigners* that even our very *Mobs* are equitable in their Proceedings. FAIR PLAY is a Phrase unknown to the Rest of *Europe* ; yet in Countries

Countries where no Man foregoes the Advantage he has over his *Enemy*; and where *Forgiveness* is a *Stranger*, there is still far less *Inhumanity* practised towards *Debtors* than in *England*; who tho' *unfortunate, and bad, indeed, in the Dialect of Exchange Alley*; yet are not always the *worst Men in the Nation*; The Reason of our Behaviour in this Point is obvious enough. Every *Creditor* in *England* has the Authority of an *Absolute Prince*, over his poor Servant the *Debtor*, and there are very few fit to govern. PHISICK is necessary to repell too great a Redundancy of Humours in the *Body*, and the *human Passions* will be restrained by nothing but *wholesome Laws* inforced by Power. The LEGISLATIVE BODY has thought fit to make one Step towards a Cure of this national Disease, worthy the *Representatives of a great, free and generous People*; and I doubt not, but the Time is near when we shall still act more in *Character*.





OF THE
PROVINCE OF ZEALAND.



ZEALAND, which now consists of so many *Islands*, is supposed, by several Writers, to have been one intire *Continent*. But this Opinion seems improbable, because it is not easy to Imagine, that the SCHELD, which makes so Noble a Port at ANTWERP, has ever had any other Course than that which it now holds, through these Islands, to the Sea. But be this as it will, we are sure its Situation has for a long Time been very much the same that It is at present; because when the NORMANS invaded Holland, by the several Branches of the Rhine, which run into the *North Sea*, They possessed Themselves of the *Isle of Walcheren*, which is now the largest of Zealand, and was at that Time separated from the Rest.

What

What was the true Name of the old Inhabitants of this Country is another Subject of Dispute amongst the *Critics*. LEMNIUS maintains Them to be the same with the old MATTIACI (a) whom TACITUS makes near Neighbours to the *Batavi*, resembling them very much in manners and Inclinations, except that the *Mattiaci* were more robust and less civilis'd. (b) And in Reality, as the *Roman* Historian places these People in the Neighbourhood of the *Batavi*, a little nearer the *Sea*, one would be apt to believe He had the *Zealanders* in his View; were it not that PLINY speaking of the same People, places Them beyond the *Rhine*, in a Situation that cannot possibly answer to that of *Zealand*. (c) And *Tacitus* Himself tells us, that CURTIUS RUFUS discovered certain Silver Mines in the Country of the *Mattiaci*, upon which He employed the *Roman Legions*, tho' to little Purpose: But 'tis certain there never were any such in *Zealand*, nor would *Curtius* have lost the least Time in searching for *Silver Mines* in so marshy a Country.

It is not probable that Strangers would come very far to inhabit so bad a Soil, but the People

(a) *Lavinius Lemnius De Zelandia*. p. 147.

(b) *Mattiaci Terra sua Solo acrius animantur*. *Tacit.*

(c) *Lib. 31:*

of *Holland* who advanced from one Spot of Ground to another, as their Numbers increased, came gradually into these fenny Lands, and sterile sandy Deserts, which they cultivated with infinite Labour, the Effect of Necessity, till at last, by raising the Ground where it was too low, and making some Places higher than the Rest, *Islands* were insensibly formed, which at once secured Them from the Violence of *Inundations*, and the Pursuits of their *Enemies*. This is the most rational Account of the Formation of the *Isles of Zealand*, nor will it appear at all improbable to those who have seen *Holland*, and observed their manner of draining Land, and making good Ground out of bad ; a Thing done every Day in all the Parts of the *Low Countries*. (a)

Zealand, is in many Respects a very powerful Province, whether we consider the Nature of her *Situation* equally proper for the Promotion and Security of *Commerce* ; the Large-ness of her *Fisheries*, or the Number of her *Seamen*.

(a) This is done by cutting one or more Ponds or *Canal* so deep, as to drain the circumjacent Marsh, at the same Time that the Turf taken out of the Canals, is distributed round in Proportion as the Soil has Occasion to be raised ; which in two Summers becomes firm and good *Land*.

She was for several Ages subject with *Holland* to the same *COUNT*, and since They have had none, she has always chosen the same *Governor*. It is not long, since one *Chamber of Accompts* superintended the *Revenue* of both Provinces, and at the Beginning of the Troubles, their *States* formed but one *Assembly*. The *STATES* of *ZEALAND* formerly consisted of three *Orders*; the *Clergy*, *Nobility*, and *Towns*. But the Reformation of *Religion* depriv'd the *Clergy* of that Right, and the noble Families are all become *extinct*, or at least there is no Person who is a *Member* of the *States* by *Virtue* of his *Birth* or any *Lordship* He may hold in the Province; so that the *Sovereignty* is now devolved on the *Towns*, whose *Representatives* assemble in the common Course of *Business* twice a Year, and extraordinarily as often as their *Deputies* think fit to convene Them.

WILLIAM the first, PRINCE of ORANGE, becoming MARQUISS of TERVEER, and LORD of FLUSHING, and SAINT MARTENDYKE, obtained the Quality of *first Noble* from the *States*, with the Right of representing, either in Person, or by Deputy, *all the Nobility of the Province*. His *Posterity* have succeeded Him in this *Dignity*, even down to the late KING WILLIAM III, tho' not by *hereditary Right*, but thro' the *Gratitude* of the *States*, as *Mon-
sieur*

sieur Wicquefort observes, who cites their Resolution on this Subject. (a)

But this Dignity being now extinct, the provincial *States of Zealand* as was said before, consist only of the Deputies of *Middleburgh, Zuricsea, Goes, Tole, Flushing, and Terveer*.

The COUNCIL of STATE is composed of one Deputy for each Town, who are chosen for Life; and the *Pensionary* and *Secretary* of the Province have the same Functions at this Board as Those of *Holland* in their respective Province; the *Government* being in all Respects the same, with Exception to the *Perpetuity* of the Members in the *Council of State*, and that Those of *Zealand* are at the same Time Commissioners of the *provincial Court of Admiralty*, and as such take an *Oath* to the *States General*.

The CITY SHERIFFS of ZEALAND, determine civil Causes in the last Resort, to a certain Value, (b) after which there lies an Appeal to the high *Court of Justice* in *Holland*; and for the Affairs of that part of *Flanders*

(a) See the Proofs of his Hist. No. 8.

(b) In 1587, It was agreed that the Sheriffs of *Middleburgh* should judge of all Causes without Limitation in the last Resort. Those of *Zuricsea, Tergoes, and Teribolin* as far as 60 Florins; Those of *Flushing* to 300, and Those of *Ter-veer* to 600, after which the Appeal lies to the high *Court of Justice*.

which

which is considered as a *Conquest* of the *Generality*, there is a *Court of Justice* consisting of a *President*, and eight *Councillors*; a *Solicitor General*, a *Register*, and a *Receiver of the Fines*. The *States General* confer these Employments, and Appeals lie to them from the Judgment of the Court.

The Election of *City Magistrates*, is managed in the same manner in this *Province*, as in *Holland*, with Exception to some few Towns. In *Middleburgh*, which for its Riches and extensive Commerce, may justly be esteemed the Capital of *Zealand*, there are twelve *Burgesses*, called *Electors*, who are added to the *Senate*, and these conjointly make a double Nomination of such as they judge proper for the *Regency*, out of whom the *Stadholder* or his *Depury*, formerly chose such as He thought fit; and since the Extinction of that Office, the Right of Election is devolved on the *Town*. Another Circumstance peculiar to *Middleburgh*, is, that the Dignity of *Senator* is not for Life, so that when the *Magistrates* have finished the Time for which they were chosen, They return to a private Condition, till by a new Election They are restored to their former Dignity. So wise a Caution has a very good Effect on the Affairs of *Zealand*, and is very worthy the Imitation of her Sister *Provinces*.



OF THE
Province of UTRECHT.



HERE is a certain *Variety* in the *antient History* of the PROVINCE of UTRECHT, that pleases at the same time that It instructs. The CRITICS differ in their Opinions concerning the old Name of the *Capital City*. Some call it ANTONINA, from its being found in the Itinerary of the EMPEROR ANTONINUS. (a) BEDA and others, with more Probability name it VILTAZURG ; (b) but ALCUINUS to whom the Life of SAINT WILLIBORD is attributed, gives it the same Name that it bears at present. (c)

Tunc data Pontifici est trajecto Sedes in Urbe.

(a) Guicc. Descrittr. de i Paesi bassi.

(b) Vide Mabill. Annall. Bencd.

(c) Alcuinus de Vita St. Will. L. 2. apud Canis, Lectio-
nes antiquæ.

This

This PROVINCE has been under four several *Dominations*, and upon each Revolution the *Methods of Government* have been altered. Originally She was incorporated with *Frizeland*, and depended on the DUKES and KINGS of that *Province*. In the second Instance her BISHOPS became absolute at Home and extended their Dominions into the neighbouring *Provinces*, making the Welfare of the Subject subservient to their Ambition. In the third, CHARLES V. stript the BISHOP of his *temporal Power*; broke thro' all the *Liberties* of the *Province*; imposed a *Governor* upon the *People*, and obliged the *Nobility* to own Themselves his *Vassals*. And lastly, upon the Establishment of the *Republic of the united Provinces*, and the *Reformation of Religion*, the Government took another Form, which It will be now our Business to describe. But the Reader will not be displeased if we postpone this a little, to take a short View of the antient State of the *Province* under the several Governments above mentioned.

PEPIN, whom the *French Style* PEPIN d' HERISTALS, had no sooner formed the Design of securing the CROWN of FRANCE to his Posterity, than he resolved to purchase the CLERGY at any Expence. In this View, He not only summoned a COUNCIL for the Renewal of *Ecclesiastical Discipline*,

Discipline, but revived the old annual Custom of convening the Estates of the Kingdom, amongst whom, He now first introduced the BISHOPS and ABBOTS, who 'till then had never been received in that Assembly: Nor had the COMMONS whom they term in FRANCE, *le Tiers Etat*, any Right in this early Age, to send their *Representatives* to the *Assembly* of the *States*; a Priviledge, They have since carried to a very considerable Height, tho' it be now in a Manner lost again, or so reduced and obscured at least, by the vast Power acquired to that *Crown* during the Ministries of RICHLIEU and MAZARINE, as to be, in reality, nothing but a *Name*.

This PEPIN having subdued the FRISONS, and their Neighbours of the Province of U-TRECHT, resolved to attempt their *Conversion*; and accordingly sent *Missionaries* amongst Them, one of whom was WILLIBORD, who first preached the GOSPEL at Utrecht; (a) and having afterwards received a new Name, and an extraordinary *Mission* from POPE SERGIUS, (b) He became the first BISHOP

(a) See *Batavia Sacra*, Lib. I.

(b) Anno 696.

of that City, with the Consent and Approbation of *Pepin*, who erected it into an *Episcopal See*, in his Favour.

CHARLES MARTEL, who observed the same Policy towards the *Church*, that *Pepin* had done; augmented the Revenue of the new *Bishoprick* of *Utrecht*, very considerably; which continued to encrease every Day, by the superstitious Liberality of the *People*, and the principal *Lords*; who did not foresee, when they made Donations of their *Waste Lands* to the *Church*, that from being uncultivated and seemingly of little Value, they would be so well *improved* in the Course of Time, as to enable the *BISHOP* to erect and maintain himself in a complicated Tyranny over their Lives and Fortunes, as well as their Consciences.

The *Normans*, who invaded *Holland*, about the latter End of the *tenth Century*, made great Devastations in this Province; burned the *Capital*, ravaged the *Country*, and spared neither the *Clergy* nor *Churches*. Some Time after which, BALDRICK, the then *Bishop*, who had a very great Ascendent over OTHO I, rebuilt the *Capital City*; and if we may credit certain old Ver-
ses, *UTRECHT* was then made the ME-

TROPOLIS of HOLLAND. (a) This *Bishop*, first obtained the Right of *Coining Money*, from the *Emperor Otho*

ADELbold who had been *Privy Counsellor* to the *EMPEROR HENRY* the 3d, was elected to the *SEE of Utrecht*, soon after *Baldrick*, and carried his *Pretentions* much farther than any of his *Predecessors*. Historians inform us, that he was the *First* who extended his *Territories* by *Force of Arms*; but his *Successors* retained the same *Spirit*; and for near five hundred *Years*, We read of nothing but *War*, *Tyranny*, and *Persecution*: the two *First*, arising from the *restless Ambition* with which these *Prelates* were *animated*; and the latter, from a *narrow spirited Monkish Principle*, assisted by the *gross Superstition* and *Ignorance* of the *Times*.

From the *Year 1017* to *1524*, there is not above one *Bishop* (of Those who were active in their *Stations*) taken Notice of in all the *History* of so long an *Interval*, for having shewed a due *Regard* to the *Libe-*

(a) *Denique Baldricus Praeful nova menia struxit,
Quæ modo subsistunt, auxiliante Deo,
Sic Hollandensi Terræ veraciter omni
Trigedium constat Urbs Capitalis adduc.*
Guicciard, *Discrit. de i Paesi Bassi. Pag. 199*

ty and Priviledges of the People. This was GUY d' AVENES, who had the Goodness to confirm the Priviledges of the Magistracy of Utrecht, by granting them a very extensive *Charter* which still Subsists.

For a long Series of Years, the GERMAN EMPERORS had assisted the BISHOPS of Utrecht upon any Emergency, but the Time came, at last, that CHARLES V, ever vigilant on such Occasions, found an Opportunity of annexing this *Bishoprick* to the Hereditary Dominions of the House of AUSTRIA.

HENRY of BAVARIA was elected *Bishop*, by the Plurality of Voices in 1424, preferably to a great Number of Competitors, but scarce was he installed, e'er he began to exert his Power upon the *Senate* of *Amsterdam*, whom he cited before him upon Pretence of their permitting clandestine Marriages, and excommunicated them for their Non-Appearance. But the *Senate* instead of submitting, brought their Complaints before Charles V. then at *Malines*, who annulled the *Bishop's Sentence*, and declared the Excommunication void, and contrary to the Liberties of the City. This was the Beginning of the Prelate's Misfortunes. The People of Utrecht, animated by those of *Amsterdam*, and encouraged

couraged, no doubt, by the Behaviour of the Emperor, shut their Gates; received a Garrison which the DUKE of GELDER sent to their Assistance, and declared HENRY an Enemy to the Public. The BISHOP, on his Part took up Arms, and put the Province to great Inconveniences; but his Army having deserted for want of Pay, He was reduced to have Recourse to CHARLES the 5th, who refused him his Assistance, 'till *He lavishly offered to resign the Sovereignty of Utrecht to Him, with all its Dependancies.* This was a Temptation not to be withstood; and a Treaty was accordingly signed between the PRELATE and the Emperor's Ministers, at Schoonhoven, in 1517. But the DUKE of GELDER and the People of Utrecht being informed of a Bargain so ignominious in it self, and so injurious to their Liberty, deposed the Bishop, elected another, and prepared to resist the Forces that Charles should send to put the Treaty in Execution: Upon this a *cruel War* ensued, which was put an End to, by the Treachery of certain Inhabitants in Utrecht, who, either possessed by a *false Point of Honour*, and a *blameable Loyalty* for their former Bishop, or actuated by the Hopes of Reward, opened a Gate to the *Imperial Forces,*

tes. (a) The BISHOP immediately followed, and three Days afterwards, in a full Assembly of the *Clergy* and *Council*, proposed the Ratification of his Agreement with the *Emperor* as a Thing absolutely necessary. Their Opinions, however, upon so Melancholy an Occasion, were very much divided; but the Town being full of Traitors and Enemies, determined to Force a *Compliance*, had it been refused: The Assembly were at last induced, *the Dagger at their Throats*, to Pass an Act for the Confirmation of the Treaty. But this was no sooner known, than disapproved of by all the World, and the BISHOP, fell into so universal a Contempt, and became so sensible of it, that He abandoned his *Diocese*, and retired into *Germany*.

The People, however, were extreamly unwilling to receive a new Master, by Virtue of so fraudulent and unjust a Contract. But CHARLES little used to regard Complaints of the Subject when oppressed to his Interest, entered the Province at the Head of his Army, took Possession of *Utrecht*, deposed the *Magistrates* that did not concur in his Designs, and abolished Part of their Priviledges. *Amersfort*, and other

(a) Ex veteris MS. Traject. Bat. Sacra. p. 240.

Towns of the Province underwent the same Fate; and in 1534, the EMPEROR settled Articles of *Union* between the Provinces of *Utrecht* and *Holland*, by which, he ordained that They should for the Future, be strictly united without Possibility of Separation, either by *Contract of Marriage, Sale*, or any other Agreement: And to render this *Union* more perfect, it is further provided, that both the *Provinces* should have one and the same *Governor*; that Sentences of *Banishment* and other Punishments, given in one Province should hold Good in the other; Insomuch, That a Criminal Banished from *Holland*, should find no *Asylum* in the Province of *Utrecht*, and *vice versa*; which Article continues still in force. And lastly, The EMPEROR demanded that those who were possessed of Fifes in the Dependance of the *Bishoprick*, should acknowledge that they held Them of Him, as *Sovereign* of the *Province*, substituted in the Place of the *BISHOP*.

Thus Things were entirely altered under CHARLES the 5th, and upon the Reformation of Religion, and the Defection of the *Province* from *Spain*, in the Time of his Son PHILIP II the Methods of Government, were again changed, and received the Form which they retain at present.

The

The STATES of UTECHT consist of three Orders; the CLERGY, NOBILITY, and the COMMONS. The *Deputies* of the Clergy are taken out of the five first *Chapters* of the *Cannons* of the City, Who are at present *Laymen*, that have bought those Places, and enjoy certain ecclesiastical Revenues annexed to them. These Deputies, who are Eight in Number, are called the *Elected*, and when a Vacancy happens amongst Them, the *Town* of *Utrecht* has a Right to present Two of its *Cannons* to the *Nobility*, and the four small *Towns*, of whom they elect One. Four of the *Cannons* are usually *Nobles*, tho' there is no express Law for that Purpose.

The Number of the NOBILITY who form the SECOND ORDER, is not fixed. They augment their Number with Consent of the other Orders, but there are several Conditions essential to One that would be elected into this Body, the Principal of which are, that he must bring sufficient Proof of a *noble Decent*, that he possess a *Lordship* in the Province worth at least twenty five thousand Florins, and that He be of the *reformed Religion*.

The THIRD STATE is formed out of the the *Senates* of the *five Towns* which have a Right to depute to the *Provincial Assembly*;

ly; the Town of UTRECHT pretends however, that the other Four have only a Right to debate without Voting, (a) and in Reality, Resolutions are often taken upon the *single Suffrage* of *Utrecht*, tho' the rest do not concur. The Court of *ordinary Deputies*, as they are Stiled, is equivalent to the *Council of State in Holland*, and consists of Four of the *Elected*; four *Nobles*, two *Deputies* of the Town of *Utrecht*, who are the two *Regent Burgomasters* for the Time being; One for the Town of *Amersfort*, and One for the other *Three*; who elect their *Deputy alternatively*, every four Months.

The SENATE of UTRECHT is composed of forty Persons, concerning whose Election, there have formerly been very great Disputes. The CLERGY and the NOBILITY, had appropriated the Right of Election to themselves, and always took Care that the PRESIDENT BURGOMASTER should be a *Nobleman*, who by Virtue of his *Quality* and *Rank* in the *provincial Assembly* of the States, found it no hard Matter to extend his Authority beyond that of his *Colleagues*. The Town often complained of This, but to no Purpose, 'till 1618, when PRINCE MAU-

(a) What the French call, *une Voix deliberative*.

RICE, then Governor of the Province, went thither with some *Deputies* of the *States General*, and terminated the Dispute, in Presence of the *provincial States* of *Utrecht*, and the *Deputies* of the *Town*, in the following Manner.

The Priviledge which the *Clergy* and *Nobility* had hitherto enjoyed was taken away; and it was agreed, that of the *forty Members* which then composed the *Town Council*, the *PRINCE* should chuse *Twenty*. Probably He might be jealous of the Rest, at a Time when the Disputes about *Grace*, and the Affair of *Barnveldt* divided Men's Affections. To Those the *Magistrates* were to name *forty more*, *Inhabitants* of the *Town*, *Men* of good *Circumstances*, and of the *reformed Religion*. To These *sixty Persons*, the *PRINCE* as *STADTHOLDER* should add *Twenty*; and lastly, from the whole Number of *Four score*, He should chuse *Forty*, who for the Time to come, should compose the *Senate*; and have a Power to *elect their Magistrates*, and fill up the Vacancies of their own Body, without being obliged to have *One* of the *Nobles* for their *President Burgomaster*; and this Form has continued ever since.

There is this Particular in the Government of the City of *Utrecht*, that a *Forreigner* who has resided *ten Years* in the *Town*, may be re-

ceived into the *Regency*; and those who are *born* in the Province, are admitted after *five Years*. As on the other Hand, to be a *Member* of the *Colledge of Nobles*, a *Council* of *Utrecht*, or in the *Service* of a *forreign Prince*, are all Circumstances that exclude a Person from that *Dignity*. In the same manner a *Father* and his *Son*; *Brothers*, and *Brothers-in-Law*; cannot be *Members* of the *Council* at the same *Time*; nor must a *Senator* be in the least concerned in *collecting* the *Taxes*, or *farming* the public *Revenues* of the *Town*. When there was a *Stadholder*, He had the *Election* of *Magistrates* upon a double *Nomination* of the *Senate*, but since the *Death* of *WILLIAM the THIRD*, the *Town* has *exercised* that *Priviledge*.

The ancient *BISHOPS* of *UTRECHT* were, as we have seen, more intent on their *Conquests*, and the *Enlargement* of their *Dominions*, than anxious for the *Encouragement* of *Arts* and *Sciences*. Content to augment the *Revenues* of the *Church*, They never thought of erecting an *Academy* at *Utrecht*; an Honour They left to the *new Republic*, which in 1634. founded the *UNIVERSITY* of that *City*, and furnished it with able *Professors* in all *Faculties*. The principal of these have been *Voetius*, who left his *Name* to his *Disciples*, in Opposition to those of *Coccæius*, with whom He had very great *Disputes*, as well

well as with DES CARTES, whose *Philosophy* He decryed. After Him we may reckon his Son, with Burman, and the celebrated GRAEVUS. LEUSDEN, LEYDECKER, and RELAND, are Names of great Reputation in the *learned World*; and some of the present Members of this *Academy*, are Persons of distinguished Abilities.



OF THE PROVINCE OF FRIZELAND.

 I STORY does not afford any Example of a People who have been more eminent Lovers of *Liberty*, or that have asserted it with greater Bravery than the FRISONS. DRUSUS, (a) however, having cut a Communication between the *Rhine* and the *Issel*, entred the *Zuider-Zee* with his *Fleet*; And having surprized the People void of any Apprehension, the

(a) Dio. Hist. L. 4 and L. 5. p. 126. 128.

whole

whole Nation was at once seized with a panick Fear, and proved an easy Conquest to the *Romans*. But DRUSUS being dead, They immediately threw off the Yoke, crucified the *Roman Tax-Gatherers*, beat the Forces that were sent to reduce Them under the Command of AFRONIUS, and regained their ancient Liberty with fresh Acquisitions of Glory and Reputation.

Their EMBASSADORS who appeared at ROME in the Time of NERO, maintained the Honour of the *Province* with a great Deal of Gallantry. TACITUS records the Names of these EMBASSADORS (a) who It seems were Men of very great Authority at Home, and behaved as such when at *Rome*. Being informed that It was the Custom for *foreign Ministers* in Alliance with the *Empire*, to sit amongst the SENATORS in POMPEY's THEATRE; They took their Seats there likewise, and affirmed there was no Nation that had either more Courage, or *good Faith*, than the *GERMANS*.

After this the FRIZONS enjoyed their Liberties for a long Series of Years, tho' often

(a) Autore Verito & Majorige qui nationem eam regnabat in quantum *Germani* regnantur.

Tacit, Ann. Lib. 13. Ch. 45. p. 298.

attacked

attacked by the *Romans*, who had a mind to subdue them. But in CHARLEMAGNE's Time their Government took another Form. This *Prince* reduced, and made Them Tributaries to FRANCE; and as it was the Custom of that Time to send COUNTS, or VICEROYS into the conquered Provinces, CHARLEMAGNE established one in FRIZELAND with the Title of POTESTAS.

FORTEMAN *the tall* was the first that enjoyed this Dignity, who after having defeated the SAXONS that came to pillage Frizeland; march'd with an Army of his Countrymen into ITALY, where they performed so many gallant Actions in *Charlemagne's* Service, that He permitted the Province to quarter a *Demi-Eagle* in her Arms, and by a Decree in the Year 802, He declared Her free and exempt from any Tribute for the Future.

A Part of Frizeland became subject to the HOUSE of BURGUNDY in the Time of PHILIP the GOOD, (a) but the Bulk of the Province continued to be governed by her *Potestas* down to the Time of *Charles V*; and as the BISHOPS of Utrecht were either contemptible for their Sloth, or remarkable for their Ambition and Tyranny; the CHIEFS of FRIZELAND on the

(a) Anno 1496.

contrary were generally noble and disinterested Assertors of the *Rights* and *Freedom* of the *Subject*. ONE of Them having been solicited by WILLIAM COUNT of HOLLAND, and KING of the ROMANS, to assist him in obtaining the *Sovereignty* of the *Province*, was so far from complying that He struck a *Medal* in Detestation of the *Proposal* which bore this *Inscription*.

SIXTUS SIAERDAMA POTESTAS FRISIÆ.

and on the *Reverse*,

LIBERTAS PRÆVALET AURO.

This was so warmly resented by the KING of the ROMANS, that He entered *Frizeland* with a very considerable Army, and beat *Siarda-ma*; but lost his Life in a second Expedition against the *Potestas*, who lived to carry on the War several Years afterward under the *Reign* of FLORENT.

The EMPEROR CHARLES V. was more successful in his Enterprizes upon *FRIZELAND*; which he entirely reduced in 1523; tho' with the Loss of his GENERAL, JOHN *de WASSENAER*, who had signalized Himself in the Battle of PAVIA, and was now killed before *SLOTEN*, which it seems was the last Place in

in the Province that held out against the EMPEROR.

The FRISONS recover'd their Liberties however under PHILIP 2d. by entring into the Confederacy of the *seven Provinces*; and nothing can be a stronger Proof of their extream Love of Freedom, than that their GOVERNOURS have never been able in the Course of so many Ages, to enlarge their Power, or acquire greater Titles; both which on the contrary have declined by Degrees; whereas in other Countries it has been usual enough to augment Them by gradual insensible *Usurpations* on the Right of the Subject. Their first Governours were KINGS, the second DUKES, and the Third ruled them under the Title of POTESTAS. It is true indeed that They have lately made the *Government*, or the STADTHOLDERSHIP of their *Province* Hereditary, but this was rather owing to Necessity than Choice, for his late MAJESTY KING WILLIAM having in 1675 managed certain Intrigues in order to obtain the *Stadtholdership*, the FRIZONS, apprehensive It may be of that Prince's growing Power, resolved to perpetuate the Dignity of *Stadholder* in that Branch of the *Nassau Family*, which is settled in the *Province*.

They took at the same Time however all imaginable Precautions for the Preservation of their

their Priviledges ; and amongst other Restrictions, the *Stadholder* is incapacitated to make any Purchase in the *Province* ; or at least when such an Acquisition is made, all Priviledges and Rights that may be dependant on the purchased Lands are suspended *pro Tempore*, and revived again when the Estate changes Hands, and revolves to a private Family.

But notwithstanding this, the *Stadholder* has a very considerable Authority. He elects the *Magistrates* of all the Towns, except Those of *Leuwarden* and *Franeker*, from a double Nomination of the *Senates*. He has his Seat in the *COUNCIL OF STATE* of the *UNITED PROVINCES* ; and for some Time after the grand Revolution, when this Dignity was yet in its Infancy, He disposed of all military Preferments. But the *STATES*, agreeable to their old Custom of reducing the Power of their *Governours*, have since restrained this Priviledge to such *Posts* only as shall become vacant during the *Campaign*.

There are three *Provinces*, or at least three *Districts*, which bare the Name of *Frizeland*. The First governed by its own *Prince*, is *EAST FRIZELAND*, whose Capital is *EMBDEN*. The second is *WEST FRIZELAND*, now vulgarly called *NORTH HOLLAND*, which formerly

com-

comprehended the Town of AMSTERDAM, and the third is That which bears the Name of the PROVINCE of FRIZELAND.

The present FORM of Government established in this *Province* is very particular. FRIZELAND consists of four Quarters, three of which are OSTERGO, WESTERGO, SEVENWOULD, and the fourth is of the *Towns*. On the First of these depended eleven *Bailywicks*, on the second Nine, and on the Third Ten. Each *Bailywick*, and each *City*, send Two *Deputies*, who together represent the SOVEREIGNTY of the PROVINCE. When they are met in their *General Assembly*, they separate Themselves into four *Chambers*, Each of which chuses two *Deputies*, whom They term *the little Number*, and 'tis to these Persons, that all those address Themselves, who have any Thing that demands Recourse to the STATES. The NOBLES have no Rank amongst the STATES of FRIZELAND, and indeed there are no *Mannours* or *Lordships* in the *Province*. The Court of STATES DEPUTIES, consists of nine Persons; Two for each *Quarter* of the *Province*, and Three on the Part of the *Towns*. Those of the Quarters are changed every Year in the ordinary Course, but sometimes they are continued by a fresh Commission; and the *Town*

Deputies

Deputies hold their Employ for three Years. The two principal Towns of this Province are *Leuwarden* and *Faneker*. The First is CAPITAL of OSTERSO, where reside the *Court*, the *Council of State*, and provincial *Courts of Justice*. *FANEKER* is the CAPITAL of WESTERGO, and has formerly been celebrated for her *University*, founded in 1585. The Towns have all their *Senates* and *Burgomasters* whose Numbers are different. The *high Court of Justice* held at *Leuwarden*, is invested with a very great Authority, and consists of twelve *Councillors*, who are elected by their respective Quarters, and introduced to their Functions, by the *States Deputies*, to whom They take the customary *Oath of Office*. She judges Sovereignly of all Crimes that incur corporal Punishment, except such as regard the ADMIRALTY, and the ARMY ; and the STATES repose so great a Confidence in the Decisions of this *Court*, that they never grant either *Pardon* or *Reprise*, to Those who lie under her Sentence. *Appeals* are brought hither from the inferior Courts of the Province, which are determined according to the Statute Laws of Frizeland ; and in Causes purely civil, there lies an Appeal from the Sentence of the *Court* by way of *Revision*. There are two Methods of Revision. The first is by *Appeal to the same Court better informed* ; but in the mean

mean Time, the first Sentence may be executed, provided the Party in whose Favour It is, gives Security to pay the Sum in Question, *if the second Verdict goes against Him.* The second, which is called the *grand Revision*, is made in the Name of the States, whose *Deputies* chuse *Six Lawyers* whom they constitute *Revisors*, Three of the *Province* and three *Strangers*, who meet at *LEUWARDIN*, where a *Member* of the high *Court* delivers them a Copy of the *Process* sealed up, to be re-examined upon the *same Proofs* that were before exhibited. After the *Revisors* have given their Opinions, the same *Member* of the *high Court* produces a second sealed Paper, with the *separate Opinions* of the *Judges* who assisted at the former Revision; which being opened and considered, the *States Deputies* form a Conclusion from the *Plurality* of Opinions, as well of the *former Judges*, as of the *present Revisors*; and this is declared to be the Sentence of the *STATES OF FRIZELAND.*



H

OF



O F T H E

Province of OVERYSEL.



VERYSSEL is situated in the Middle, between *Frizeland*, *Gelderland*, the *Zuyder-Zee*, and the Country of *Westfalia*, near whose Borders the *Issel* takes its Rise, which watering this Province in her Course, receives the *Rhine* at *Doesburg*, and afterwards empties her self into the *Zuyder-Zee*, or the *FLUVO LACUS* of the *Ancients*. This RIVER was originally called *SALA*, and those that lived on the Banks of it *SALIENS*, who were, beyond all doubt, the People that first inhabited the PROVINCE of OVERYSEL. *TACITUS* who had throughly studied the Customs of GERMANY, gives us an Idea of the *SALIEN'S GOVERNMENT*, when tributary to the *ROMANS*. Their

Their CHIEF or GENERAL, had the Title of KING; but was elected by the *People*, (a) who retained several Parts of the *Supream Power* in their own Body; and amongst other Things, They had a Share in the Fines imposed on Criminals.

Pars Malctæ Regi vel Civitati vindicatur.

The more important Affairs of the Government were debated in *popular Assemblies*, at which the *Priests* were present, whose Duty it was to impose Silence. Each CHIEF had a Right to harangue the *People*; who respected Him in Proportion to the Force of his *Eloquence*, or the Reputation He had acquired in *military Affairs*. They expressed their Approbation of what was said, by clashing their Weapons together in a *martial Manner*, and their Dislike by a *confused Murmur*.

For the Administration of *Justice*, the CHIEFS were used at certain Seasons, to take a *Tour*; or, as we call it, a *Circuit*, to the several Towns of the *Province*, attended by a considerable Number of Persons, who, upon these Occasions, were associated

(a) *Principes eleguntur, says Tacitus.*

to Them for the Dispensation of *Justice* and *Equity*. (a)

It is presumed that the *SALIQUE LAW* was first framed by the *People* of this *Province*, immediately after they had shook off their *Dependance* on the *ROMANS*. A *Constitution* that has since grown famous, from being received by the *FRENCH*, who consider it as one of the best *Supports* of their *CROWN*, which by this *Law* is limited to the *Males* of the *Royal Family*. *PHARAMOND* is indeed named for the *Inventor* of It, and It is particularly said that He convened an *Assembly* of the *French* *Lords* in 422, by whose *Assistance* it was compiled; and the *Observation* of it afterwards enforced by *CLOVIS* who drove the *Romans* out of *Gaul*, and succeeded *PHARAMOND* in that *Monarchy*. But the very near *Affinity* between the *Names*, would I own be enough to make me conclude it an *Institution* of the *SALIENS*, especially as the *Law* has ever been, and is at present religiously observed throughout the *Province* of *Overyssel*. (b) This Opinion is fortified by another *Consideration*, suggested by *MONSIEUR BASNAGE*,

(a) *Centeni singulis Comites Consilium simul & Autho-
ritas adiut Tac. Germania. Cap. XIII. Page 546.*

(b) *Vide Junius.*

who

who has given the World a very learned *Critic* on this Subject, (b) which is, that there are at least twenty different *Clauses* scattered about in the Body of the *Salique Law*, which are so many *Statutes* against the stealing of *SWINE*, insomuch that the *Preservation of those Animals*, appears to have been one of the principal Intentions of the *LEGISLATOR*, which could not have happen'd had He lived in any other Country than *Overyssel* or *Westfalia*, where the *Hogs* still continue to be the principal Riches of the Inhabitants, as they undoubtedly were at that Time.

The Government suffered a very great Change under *CHARLEMAGNE*; who having conquered *GERMANY*, annexed *Overyssel* and the neighbouring *Provinces* to his Dominions, and sent Them their several *Dukes* or *Counts* who ruled the People in his Name. *Overyssel*, in particular, had a Distinct *Governor* for each of her Districts, agreeable to the Observation of a *Saxon Poet*.

*Sed variis divisa modis Plebs omnis habebat,
Quot Pagos, tot pænc Duces.*

(b) *Description historique du Gouvernement des Provinces unies.*

Besides their *Governours*, They had another Officer of very great Authority, who was termed SCULTET, *quasi* SCHOUT, whose Power was equivalent to that of the ROMAN PRÆTOR, or the modern CITY BAILIFF. They were in a manner, associated to the *Counts* for the Administration of Justice : *Non potest ullus Comes qui sub regali Banno cognoscit, legitimum babere Judicium sine suo Sculteto.* (a)

OVERYSSEL underwent another Revolution in the Time of CHARLES the BALD. This Prince having made War upon the EMPEROR LOTHAIRES, in Conjunction with his Brother LEWIS the *German*, KING of BAVARIA, They applied Themselves to the *Clergy* to corroborate the Title which Conquest had given Them over the *Emperor's Dominions*. It was the Custom of that Age for Princes to resign their *Crowns* to the *Clergy*, in order to receive them again with greater Lustre and Authority. The Priest in Gratitude for the Honour done Him, employed his venerable Character and the outside of Religion to engage the People in a passive Obedience. Agreeable to This, CHARLES and LEWIS having convened an Assembly of *Bisbops* at *Aix la Capelle*, The

(a) *Speculum Saxon.* Lib. 1. Art. 50. 55, 56.

EMPEROR LOTHAIRES was by them declared unworthy of the Countries his Father LEWIS le DEBONNAIKE had left Him. *Receive say They to the two Brothers, Receive the Kingdom by the Authority of God, and govern it according to his Will. We advise, exhort and command you to do It.*

In this Manner these *Princes* received from a Congregation of *Prelates* the Donation of those Countries which They were already in Possession of by Conquest.

The greater Difficulty was how to divide the Spoil between themselves; but it was at last agreed that LEWIS should retain BAVARIA, which was his old Patrimony, with a part of *Germany*, including *Overyssel*, and the Neighbouring Provinces. A Partition that has since been the Occasion of several Quarrels; for *Lothaire*, thus stript of his Dominions, constantly maintained that the dismembred *Provinces* were always dependant on the *Emperor* and *Empire*, from whence the Succeeding *Emperors* took frequent Opportunities to revive their Pretensions to them.

The *Government* of *Overyssel* suffered another Change, still more disadvantageous than the former, under the *BISHOPS* of *UTRECHT*. These *Prelates*, though not absolute *Sovereigns* of the whole *Province*,

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had got Possession of a Part of It, which they not only ruled in a very tyranical Manner, but were the Occasion of numberless Mischiefs to the *Province*, from the In-veteracy of their Enemies; who to revenge themselves upon the *Bishop*, were sure to make cruel Inroads into the Country, to the Destruction of the People. It has been often remarked that the Government of *Ecclesiasticks* is very uncertain; for if on one Hand, the Veneration which the People entertain for their *Character*, gives Them an opportunity of extending their Dominions, under the Sanction of *Religion*; the same Circumstance renders Them less proper to defend their Possessions, when either Jealousy of *Power*, or a Desire of growing Rich at the Expence of the *Church*, excites their Neighbours to attack them. The People too are extreamly various in their Opinions. One Man shall be so prejudiced as to hazard every Thing, even Life it self, to support the *Bishop* in all his Pretensions; whilst Another of a cooler Complexion, looks upon Nothing with so much Contempt as a *designing Ecclesiastick*, who under different Pretences, sacrifices the Dignity of his *Character*, and all real

Con.

Concern for *Religion*, to secular Interest and unlimited Ambition. When the *Bishops* of *Utrecht* first made their Conquests in *Overyssel*, and began to exercise a Jurisdiction there, all imaginable Care was taken to hinder their Progression. According to the Constitution, they were to depend in a great Measure on the *States*, so far at least, as to attempt nothing of very great Consequence, without their Advice; but they often broke through the moderate Limits prescribed them by the *Law*, and abusing at once the *Devotion* of the *People* and the *Ardor* of the *Troops*. They led Them just as their Ambition directed. Sometimes the *Frisians* were their Enemies; and Peace should hardly be restored, when a new Quarrel would break out with the *Dukes* of *Gelder*; and This again, be succeeded by another, still more cruel and bloody, with their inveterate and powerful Enemies, the *Counts* of *Holland*.

The *States* of the *Province*, however, who could not possibly draw any Advantage from *Victories*, which served only to cherish the Ambition of the *Prelates*, very often opposed the March of their *Soldiers*; and leaving the *Bishop* to deal with his Enemies in the best Manner he could, would

would regulate their Conduct agreeable to the Event of the *Campagne*. But such was the narrow spirited Temper of those dark and superstitious Ages, that there is scarce an Historian who does not blame this prudent Temporising in the *People* and *States* of *Overyssel*; as if it was the Duty of Mankind to run blindly into all the Enterprises of their *Sovereigns*, tho' the Success could only serve to draw on their own Ruin, in the Establishment of a *Tyranny*. Besides the *People* and *States*, we are told there was another Order of Persons in the *Province*, who often opposed the *Bishop*. (a) These were certain *Lords*, whose Names *Guichardine* has transmitted to us, (b) that were so many *Sovereigns* within their Respective Jurisdictions.

They were invested with all that Right which the *Civilians* term, *Jus Armorum & Fæderis*, the Right of arming their *Vassals* and *Dependants*, and of making *War* and *Peace* with their *Neighbours*.

(a) Et di piu vi sono dieci Luoghi molto principali & importanti i quali hanno larghissimi Privilegi. *Guicardini* Descritiōne di tutti i Paesi Bassi. p. 165.

(b) The Titles of the ten Lords mentioned in *Guicardin*, are *Peppel*, *Ghelmuyden*, *Coeverden*, *Hardebergke*, *Omme*, *Almeloe*, *Goor*, *Diepenheim*, *Debden*, and *Enfiede*.

But

But as those Lords could not always agree to unite, and were singly too weak to encounter the *Bishop*; He who never let slip an Occasion, had it frequently in his Power to destroy Them. and when a Cessation of foreign Broils gave the *Bishop* Leisure to turn his Thoughts, and apply all his Force to the Oppression of his Subjects at Home, then even the *People, Lords and States*, though all united, were still too weak to oppose Him, and in this Case they had Recourse to the *Emperor's* Protection, tho' the Remedy was worse than the Disease; for the *Imperial Troops* were never strong enough entirely to drive away Those of the *Bishop*; and having been used to free Quarter and a relaxed Discipline, They harassed the Country most miserably under the Pretence of defending it. It will be allowed I believe from what has been laid, that the Ecclesiastical Government has been extreamly fatal to this *Province*; which in 1385 was the *Scene* of a short but surprizing Revolution under JOHN III. This *Prelate* from being *Secretary of State* to the *KING of FRANCE*, mounted into the *See of Utrecht*, by Virtue of one of those bold Steps which the *POPES* sometimes take to assert their *Supremacy*. The *CANNONS* had chosen another *BISHOP*, but the *POPE* thought fit to supercede the Election in Favour of This *JOHN*, who immediately fell

fell upon enlarging his *Diocess* by all possible Methods. Agreeable to This He bought several Estates of the *Count of Bentheim*, and put Himself in Possession of *Diepenheim*. But whether the Debts he had contracted to buy these Lands eat Him up; or that his Revenues were disipated by his *Luxury*; He died so much in Debt, that the Districts of *Zalant*, *Twenth* and *Vollenhove* were given up to the *Duke of Gelderland*, and the *Count of Holland*, as Securities for the Money They had lent Him. But they did not remain long in their Hands: for the next *Bishop* being as covetous as his Predecessor had been extravagant, soon recovered a good Part of the mortgaged Country, and particularly the District and Castle of *Vollenhove*. (a)

At last *OVERYSEL* changed its Master entirely, and became subject to the House of *Austria*. The *provincial States* weary of their Dependance on the *Bishops of Utrecht*, laid hold on the Resignation which *Henry of Bavaria* made of his *Bishoprick* to *Charles V.* for a Pretext to put Themelves under his Government; who accordingly took Possession of *Overyssel*, notwithstanding the Opposition

(a) This was *Frederick Blankenbeymen*, who died at *Vollenhove* in 1412.

made to it by the *Duke of Gelderland*, whom *Charles* easily obliged to acquiesce.

The *Province* however did not long remain subject to the *House of Austria*, for the People of the *Netherlands* having taken Arms in the manner we have related for the Defence of their *Liberty*, *Overysel* threw off the *Spanish Yoke*, and entered into the *Confederacy* of the *seven Provinces*; upon which another Form of *Government* took Place, which is as follows.

The *STATES* of *OVERYSSEL* are composed of the Deputies of *Zalant*, *Twent* and *Vollenbove*, and of the three Towns, *Campen*, *Deventer*, and *Zwoll*; which six Members, with such of the *Nobility*, as have *Lordships* to the Value of thirty Thousand *Florins*, represent the *Sovereignty* of the *Province*. *Strangers* who desire to settle here and enter into the *Government*, have only to prove their *Nobility*, buy a *Lordship*, live in the *Province* two Years, and pay a certain Sum for their *Admission*.

Domestick Affairs of an ordinary *Nature* are resolved according to the *Plurality* of *Voices*, but in an uncommon *Manner*; for if one single *Nobleman* joins in *Opinion* with the three Towns, They make the *Plurality*; as in like manner, if one *Third* of the *Nobility*, and one *Nobleman* over and above, join with Two of the Towns, They are a *Majority*; and 'tis the same, if two thirds of the *Nobility*, and one

one more, agree with one of the three Towns. But all *Acts of State* which relate to new *Taxes*, *Peace* or *War*, require the unanimous Consent of all the Orders.

The **BAILIFF** or **DROSSART** of **ZALANT** convenes the States, by summoning the Deputies of his own *Quarter* Himself, and the Rest by the Interposition of their respective *Bailiffs*. He likewise presides in the general Assembly, collects the Suffrages, and forms the Conclusion. The three Towns, who have formerly been *Members* of the *Empire*, pretend still to be *Sovereign* within the *Circuit* of their Walls and *Precincts*; and that there lies no Appeal from their *Sentences*. The *Drossarts* however affirm, that their Jurisdiction extends into all the Towns of their Districts; but without deciding which is in the Right, 'tis most certain that the Towns have always maintained their Pretensions, and judge all Causes in the last Resort. Each of the Town *Senates* consists of sixteen *Burgomasters*, who are elected by the *People* divided into forty *Cantons*. These Gentlemen govern all important Affairs, and two of them are chosen weekly for the Dispatch of ordinary Business. There is a *Court of Justice* in this *Province*, tho' very unlike Those of *Holland* and *Zealand*; composed of one Deputy of every *Bailiwick*, and each of the three Towns; which serves as a *Council of*

of State to the *Province*. In matters of *Justice* there lies an Appeal from the ordinary *Judges*, to the several *Bailiffs*; who determine all *Causes* in the last *Resort*; and against their *Sentences* there is no *Remedy* in *Law*, except that every four or five *Years*, there is an *Assembly* of *STATES DEPUTIES*, before whom, any Person that thinks *Himself* grieved by a former *Sentence*, may have his *Cause* revised upon his *Petition*.

JUSTICE is dispensed in a very uncommon manner at *Deventer*. Twelve *Schepens*, and four *Councillors*, compose the *Tribunal* of that Town, and are elected every *Year* by an *Assembly* of the *Burgesses*, who take an *Oath* to give their *Votes impartially*, and chuse *Persons* of *reputed Integrity*. These *Electors*, to the Number of Forty eight, are drawn from all the different Streets of the Town, and They have a further *Priviledge* of *Assembling* from Time to Time, at least four *Times* a *Year*, to deliberate of the most important *Affairs* of the *Province*, without excepting even Those which relate to *Peace* and *War*.



OF



OF THE
Province of GRONINGHEN,
 Which comprehends the
 OMMELANDS.



THE Town of GRONINGHEN, which is the *Capital* of this *Province*, is thought to be the Cittadel that the ROMAN GENERAL COREULO built to bridle the FRISONS, upon their returning into the *Roman* Obedience after their first Revolt.

(a) Some Authors make it much more ancient; deriving It from the French Heroes of Antiquity, and through Them, from

(a) Vide Menso Alting descriptio secundum antiquos Agris Batavi & Frisiz, Pag. 5.

the

the TROJANS. (a) But this Opinion favours too much of the *Legend*; and the former on the contrary, appears extreamly probable, from the great Conformity in the Rules of Government between *Groninghen* and *old Rome*. You see in *Groninghen* a *Senate* invested with the Sovereign Authority, and, other *Officers of State*, which answer to the *Consuls*, *Prætors*, *Censors*, and *Ediles*; and there has been even a *DICTATOR* created upon emergent Occasions. But what is still more convincing, the Town has several *municipal Laws*; which are apparently extracted from those of the *TWELVE TABLES*. 'Tis a known Law of the *Twelve Tables* that the *Prætor* should determine *Causæ*, before Noon: that the *nearest Relation*, should be entrusted with the *Guardianship* of Children that had lost their *Father*: that there should be no drinking at *Funerals*; and that the Decisions of the People are *Sovereign*.

(a) *Guicciardini, Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi*, P. 172. *Grunighem* secondo alcuni prese il nome, comme di sopra si fa mentione, da *Grunio Trojano*, il Munstero scrive che fusse di generazione Franco, cio e Franzese. Che potrebbe Stare l' uno & l' altro, conciosia che i Francesi affermano essere usciti di prima Origine da Troja.

In the xi and xii Ages, *Groninghen* became very considerable ; and the Inhabitants having rebelled against GODFREY BISHOP of U-TRECHT in 1166, and made him their Prisoner ; FLORENT COUNT of HOLLAND came to his Assistance, released the *Bishop*, and besieged the Town, but could not possibly take it ; upon which the *Emperor Frederick* interposed his Authority and made up the Quarrel ; first reconciling the Inhabitants with the *Bishop*, and afterwards the *Bishop* with the Count of Holland, who had quarrelled about the Possession of certain Lands situated between *Groninghen* and the River *Lawer*. FLORENT pretended an absolute Right to them, by Virtue of certain Grants from former *Emperors* ; and on the other hand, the *Bishop* produced authentic Donations of a Part of the Territory ; upon which the *Emperor* decided the Dispute, by ordering that for the future, the Revenue of the Lands in question should be equally divided betwixt them ; in order to which They should pitch upon a third Person to be the *Count* or *Administrator*, and in Case They could not agree in their Choice, the *Emperor* would nominate Him. It was further ordered that They should both come to *Groninghen* every Year in the Month of May, where their Stay was limited to six Weeks, in which Time the *Bishop* was to superintend

superintend and regulate all Ecclesiastical Concerns, whilst the *Count of Holland* took Care of the *civil Jurisdiction* and political *Affairs* of the *Government*.

This Example proves that *Groningen* was then in some Degree a *Fief* of the *Empire*, since the *Emperor* acts rather as *Lord* of the *Soil* than a simple Arbitrator; and both the *Count* of *Holland* and the *Bishop* ground their Right on the Donations of his Ancestors. The *People* of *GRONINGHEN* continued to be the *Sport* of *Fortune* for several Years; at one Time so much at Ease as to think of extending their own Dominions at the Expence of their Neighbours, and at another so much harrassed and oppressed by their *Bishops*, as to be forced to call in foreign Assistance. And this unsettled Condition lasted till 1536, when she became entirely subject to *CHARLES V.*

The flat *Country* called the *OMMELANDS*, was formerly divided into several *Districts* each of which was *sovereign* Mistress of Her self, and all of them independant on the *Town* of *Groningen*.

These *Districts*, and particularly That of *Frvelingo*, were governed by *CONSULS* annually elected, agreeable to the manner of old *ROME*. The *CONSULSHIP* was attended with a very great Authority, and the Election generally contested with a Violence that was

often fatal to the *Candidates*, as well as destructive to the PUBLIC PEACE. In 1280 They came to Blows in the Quarter of *Hunsingo*, where the Competitors were left dead on the Spot ; and these Contests were common to all the Districts.

In Point of *Ecclesiastical Discipline*, and *Church Affairs*, Part of the *Ommeland*s was formerly subject to the *BISHOPS* of *MUNSTER*, as the Town of *Groningen* and the Country of *Drent* were to those of *Utrecht*. *LUDOLPHUS*, *Bishop* of *Munster*, being informed of the ill Treatment the *Clergy* met with in this Country, interdicted the Celebration of *divine Service* in the Quarter of *Fivelingo* where a *Deacon* had been killed. (a) But the People had not always the necessary Respect for the *Bishops Censures* ; They frequently gave Him the Trouble of appealing to *Rome*, and sometimes on the contrary they would submit to undergo a *Penance*.

We have already remarked that the several Districts of the *Ommeland*s were so many distinct *Sovereignties* ; They gave different *Arms*, and had their own *Troops*, and separate Interests. They frequently quarrelled and fought with each other ; and sometimes

(a) *Emonis Chron. Anno 1227. p. 129.*

They

They have all united against *Groningen* with different Success. In 1550 the *Town Forces* were victorious over Those of *Fivelingo* and *Drent*; but as nothing is more difficult than to bear a Tide of Prosperity with Decency, the Town abused her Victory so far as to draw on the Resentment of the other *Quarters*, who being all united, were Masters of the Field in their Turn, besieged and took *Groningen*, and slighted her Fortifications. These were afterwards repaired however, and the *Ommeland*s with the *City* came at once under the Domination of the *Emperor*, from which they again recovered by entring into the Confederacy of the *United Provinces*.

Thus the PROVINCE of *GRONINGHEN* is composed of two Bodies; The Town and the neighbouring Country, called in Dutch, *Ommelanden*, situated between the Rivers *Emis*, and *Lawer*. The Magistracy of the Town consists of eight *BURGOMASTERS*, and sixteen *Councillors*, whose Dignity is for Life, but their Functions only annual. There are always four *Burgomasters* and twelve *Councillors* in the Regency, the remaining Eight being employed for that Year in other Functions. The REGENTS govern all political Affairs in a *Sovereign* Manner; and judge in the last Resort, all Causes both civil and criminal. The Places which become *vacant*

ant in the Magistracy, either by Death or Male Administration, are filled up by another Court composed of Twenty four Persons, called the *Sworn Society*; unless when a Magistrate dies in the Time of his Regency, in which Case the Council may dispose of the Vacancy, provided it be done within *ten Days* after the *Burial*. To preserve the Number of *sixteen Persons* in the *Regency*, the *sworn Society* assemble once a Year, by Virtue of a Priviledge granted Them by the Town: The *PRESIDENT BURGOMASTER* puts into his Hat, nineteen *white*, and five *black Beans*, which answer to the Number of Electors, and Those who draw the five *black Beans*, chuse the Persons whom They judge proper to fill the vacant Places.

The *OMMELANDS*, are divided into three Quarters, whose *Laws* provide that Those who possess thirty Acres of Land, of the Value of a *Thousand Florins*, Money of *Emden*; and who pay eight *Florins* upon each Subsidy to the *State*, which is termed *Verponding*; have a Right to appear in the Assembly of the *Province*. The three Quarters however, have but one Voice and the Town another, so that the *Sovereignty* is equally divided between Them. Each Quarter is again subdivided into three smaller Districts

stricts, and no Resolution can be taken upon the Affairs of the Province, unless *six* of the smaller Districts concur in it.

There are several Jurisdictions throughout the *Province* both for civil and criminal Affairs; but there lies an Appeal from all their Sentences, to the COURT of JUSTICE established in the City of GRONINGHEN.

This Court is composed of a *President*, who is named alternatively by the *Town* and the *Ommeland*s, and *eight Assessors*, of whom four are the *Regent Burgomasters* for the Time being, and the other four are perpetual, one of whom is nominated by the *Town*, and Three by the *Ommeland*s.

The STATES of the PROVINCE consist of an equal Number of Deputies from the two Members, who assemble annually, on the 8th of *February*, and on that Day all Posts become vacant; but They are immediately filled up either by a new Election or a Continuation, of the same Persons. The STATES being assembled; deliberate, and resolve as *Sovereigns*, of all that concerns the *Province*; but as there are only two Suffrages in the Assembly, *equal* in *Authority*; when They happen to disagree, the Resolution is suspended, till one Party comes over to the Sentiments of the Other. The *Town*, and the

Ommelands, have an equal Right in the Distribution of Offices ; which They confer alternatively, and the Commissions are made out in the Name of the *Province*. They send *six Deputies* to the *States general* ; *Two* to the *Council of State* ; *Two* to the general *Chamber of Accompts* ; *Four* to the *Admiralty of Harlingen* ; and *One* to That of *Amsterdam*.

They chuse every Year eight Persons, who compose a *Court of States Deputies* ; and in the Absence of the *provincial States*, these Gentlemen regulate the Affairs of the *Province*, as the *Council of State* does in *Holland*.

In the same manner, they elect *six Persons*, who compose the *provincial Chamber of the Finances* ; *six Curators* for the *University of Groningen*, whose Professors they nominate likewise ; And lastly they dispose of all *Commissions* and *military Offices*, in the *Troops* that depend on their *Province*.

It is *Monsieur Basnage's* Remark, that this *Equality* in the *Distribution of Offices*, ought naturally to produce a good *Correspondence*, and *Harmony*, between the two *Members* of the *Province*, since it is usually the *Bone of Contention*, amongst the *principal Persons* in a *State* : But notwithstanding this, the *Town* and the *Ommelands*, are very often at *Variance*.



OF THE
Country of DRENT.



THE Ancient BISHOPS of Utrecht pretended to be both *Spiritual* and *Temporal Lords* of DRENT. But of all those who acknowledged their Jurisdiction, none have opposed their Usurpations with greater Courage and Obstinacy than the Inhabitants of this little District. Their Animosity however has sometimes carried Them beyond the Bounds of Decency in their Resentment, particularly in the person of OTHO II, who with his Brother and a considerable Body of the Nobility, were cut off without Pity at the Siege of COVERDEN. The People were scandalized it seems to see a *Bishop* come against them in so hostile a manner, so they struck off his Head, and treated his Body with very great Indignity ; falsely imagining their Cruelty was justified by the *Bishops* acting out of Character. But his Successor WILERAND entred the Country at the Head of his Army, and revenged the Death of OTHO. *Drent* became

became subject to the House of *Austria* with the Rest of the neighbouring *Provinces*, and recovered its Liberty by falling in with the grand Revolution under *Philip II.*

This little Country makes the *Frontier* of the *United Provinces* on the Side of *Westfalia*; and may in one Sense be styled a Part of them, since she contributes one *per Cent.* to the public Expence, and obeys the *States General*. Indeed she has no Representative in their Assembly, and in that only she is less than any other Member of the Republic; a Particular the People of *Drent* have often complained of, but to no Purpose. There seems to be something hard however in that Exclusion, for as she is not a Conquest of the Generality, but is Mistress of her own Revenue, and contributes in some Degree tho' a small one to the Expence of the *Union*, It were but equitable that she should have a proportionable Share in all the Honours and Advantages of It.



S E C T



SECT. III.
OF THE
STATES GENERAL.



THE REPUBLIC of the UNITED PROVINCES, consists in a *Confederacy* of several *States* or *Sovereignties*, whose distinct Liberties and Methods of Government, we have taken a particular View of ; and These, like the *Swiss Cantons*, are united together, on Condition that each shall enjoy her own *Laws* and *Privileges*. Thus, as all its Parts are Sovereign, Strangers must consequently regard the whole as such ; who have any thing to negotiate with the Body of the Union. The STATES

STATES GENERAL, properly speaking, are the united Body of all the Representatives of each Province. In the Infancy of the *Commonwealth*, They were convened by the *Council of State* upon any Emergency, and separated as soon as the Business for which They were summoned was concluded. Their Numbers it seems were very large, since the Assembly held at *Bergen-Op-Zoom*, to ratify the Truce made with *Spain* in 1609, consisted of no less than eight hundred Members. But as so large a Number must necessarily occasion many Inconveniences and a very great Expence, each Province contents Herself with sending a few *Deputies*, who Together, form that Body which we call the *States general*. An *Assembly* of *Plenipotentiaries* of the seven *Sovereignties* which compose the *State*; whose Power is limited either expressly or tacitly by his Instruction, *not to suffer the least Wound to be given to the Sovereignty of that Province which deputes Them*. These are the Persons who represent the Majesty of the Government and assume the Title of HIGH and MIGHTY LORDS or HIGH MIGHTINESSES. Besides the ordinary *Deputies*, the *Em-bassadors* of the *State* to foreign *Courts* have a Right to sit in this *Assembly*, whose Members are only accountable for their Actions and Behaviour to the *Province* that deputes them. Those

Those who are unacquainted with the Government of the *united Provinces*, generally imagine that the *States general* are the *Sovereigns* of the Country; as they consist of *Deputies* from all the *Provinces*, as They represent the *Body* of the *State*; receive *Em-bassadors*; and appear in General to be invested with the *sovereign Power*. But these Deputies are only appointed for a few Years, and tho' They have the Power of debating on the most important Affairs that regard the *Union*, and every thing that may tend to secure or promote the Preservation and Happiness of the State; yet they have not Power to conclude any Point of great Consequence without *communicating It to their respective Provinces, and receiving their express Consent*. This is undoubtedly the weak Side of the Government, which would have been stronger, if the *Seven Provinces* made but *one Sovereignty*. Resolutions would be sooner taken, and the Execution of them more vigorous; but It would have been dangerous perhaps in the Beginning to have divested the Provinces of their old Priviledges in Favour of any new erected Body. In the Assembly of the *States general*, the Provinces preside weekly in their Turn, beginning with *Gelderland*, who had the *Precedency* before the *Union*, when They were all under the Dominion of the *King of Spain*

Spain; and the Rest follow in the Order we have already considered Them. He who is first named in the Deputation of the Province presides, and is from thence called **PRESIDENT of the WEEK**: This *Gentleman* proposes the *Subjects* that are to be debated, and collects the *Votes* of the *Assembly*; upon which he forms the *Conclusion*, dictates to the *Register*, and afterwards *signs* the *Resolution*. If the *President* refuses to conclude agreeable to the *Plurality of Voices*, in Cases where the *Plurality* takes Place, either because it may be contrary to the *Sense* of his *Province*, or his own *Opinion*, He resigns the *Chair* to the *President* of the *former Week*; and if He likewise refuses, They have Recourse to the *former President*, and so *backwards* till one seats Himself in the *Chair*, and concludes.

We have already observed, that in the Infancy of the *Republic*, this *Assembly* was not perpetual: The *Provincial States* did not send their *Deputies* to the *General Assembly*, unless they were convened by the *Council of State*, on whom the *Execution* of all *Resolutions* taken by the *States General* devolved. But the Authority which this *Council* acquired from hence; especially, during the Time of the **EARL of LEICESTER**, or rather the Authority acquired by the *Earl* Himself, gave Umbrage

to the *Provincial States*, who thereupon resolved that the *Deputies* of the *States General* should continue always assembled. It seems his *LORDSHIP*, who presided in the *Council*, would never suffer the *States* to be convened, 'till he had already digested the Points upon which They were to be consulted, and prepared Things to go just as He would have them: So they were rather called together to ratify what was already concluded, than to debate it; and from hence sprung the ill Temper and Jealousy of the *States*, who thought their Liberties in Danger, whilst that *LORD* resided amongst them: And it appears indeed by the Manner in which He was recalled, that *QUEEN ELISABETH* was of the same Opinion.

I have already said, that the *STATES GENERAL* can neither make *War* or *Peace*, without the Consent of the *Provinces*; neither can they raise *Troops*, impose a *Tax*, enter into a *Foreign Alliance*; or abrogate an *old Law*, without the *same Concurrence*.

The *Provincial States* have reserved to Themselves several other Things expressly; such as the *Liberty* of *electing a Stadtholder*, or *refusing Him*; the *Right* of nominating to the *several Governments of Towns and Forts*.

Forts that depend on their respective *Provinces*; That of keeping the *Keys* and giving the *Word* by the *Magistrate*; a *Power* over the *Troops*, in all *Things* that are not purely *Military*; of conferring the *Colonel's* *Commissions*, and the other *Subaltern Posts*, in those *Regiments* which are paid by their *respective Provinces*; of placing *Garrisons* in such *Towns* as they think fit, and changing them with the *Consent* of the *Council of State*; of taking an *Oath of Fidelity* from the *Troops to Themselves*, and the *Magistrates* of the several *Towns* in which they enter; all which are standing *Articles*, and the *States General* are not permitted even to debate concerning their *Revocation*. But notwithstanding these *Restrictions*, they are invested with a very great *Authority*, which may be properly distinguished under these three Heads, First, As to *Domestick Affairs*, Secondly, with Regard to the *Towns* of the *Generality* that have been conquered since the *Union of Utrecht*. And lastly, in Reference to *Embassadors of Foreign Princes*.

As to their *Authority* in *domestick Affairs*, we can only say, That the *States General* are charged with the *Execution* of the *Perpetual Alliance*, or *Union of Utrecht*.

It

It is, indeed, their Duty, as I have said above, to consult on every Thing that respects the *Common Good* of the *Republic*, either at Home or Abroad: Its Defence in Time of *War*, and *Alliances* in Time of *Peace*. But the Resolutions They take on any of these Heads are not *valid*, 'till they are *ratified* by all the *Provinces*. When that is done, the *Resolution* passes into a *Law*, and a *Placaert* or *Ordinance* is issued by the *States General*, and sent to the *Provincial States*, requiring them to receive It; but this is done in *Terms* that *imply no Command, or Superiority, or that can possibly give the least Wind to the Sovereignty of the particular Provinces*.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE, reports a remarkable Instance of the Violation of the ordinary Practice, upon his being sent to *Holland* in 1688, when the *States General* ventured to act against the fundamental *Laws* of the *Union*, and conclude three different *Treaties* with *England*, without the Concurrence, or even the Participation of the *Provincial States*. SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE remarks at the same Time indeed, that the *Deputies* had forfeited their Heads, if they had been disavowed. But It seems, the Necessity of concluding those *Treaties* with *Expedition* was so evident;

and the Advantages that would naturally result from Them to the *Republic* so considerable ; that they ran very little Hazard ; and accordingly their Conduct was universally approved by their Principals. Thus we see that as to *domestick Affairs*, the *STATES GENERAL* are far from acting in a *Sovereign Manner*. However, as They are generally made up of the most powerful as well as the wisest Men of the *Republic*, We cannot doubt, but the Resolutions taken by them, must have a very great Influence on the several provincial Assemblies.

With Respect to the Towns that have fallen under the *Domination* of the Provinces, since the *Union of Utrecht*, the *States general* must be considered in another Light ; for they are the absolute *Sovereigns* of all Lands and Places conquered by the *Arms* of the *Union* ; as *Bois le duc*, *Breda*, *Bergen-op-Zoom*, *Grave*, *Williamstadt*, and *Mastricht* ; of the *Country* on the other Side the *MAESE* ; *Hulst*, *Sluice*, *Ardembourg*, and several other Places in *Flanders* ; which they possess as the *KING of SPAIN* did, without *Prejudice* to the *Rights* of particular *Lords*, to whom the *Inheritance* is preserved. (a) *MASTRICHT* They hold in common with the *BISHOP of LIEGE*, who cre-

(a) See *Wicquefort*.

ates half the *Magistrates*, and the *States general* the Rest; but These confer the Government of the Town, in which they always maintain a strong Garrison. For the Regulation of those Places that depend on the *Generality in Brabant*, and on the other Side the *Maese*, the *STATES GENERAL* have ever since the Year 1591 established a Court at the *HAGUE*, called the *Council of Brabant*, which judges in the last Resort of all Causes both civil and criminal, that come before it by *Appeal*, from any of the *Town Courts* of these Districts; with Exception to *Maastricht*, whither the *States* send every two Years, Two of their Body, in *Quality of Commissioners Deciders*, who in Conjunction with Those of the *Bishop or Prince of Liege*, judge all Disputes which arise between the Inhabitants of either Country. The *Sovereignty* of all Lands, acquired by the *Dutch East and West India Companies*, in *AFRICA*, *AMERICA*, and the *INDIES*, does likewise *vest* in the *States general*.

With Respect to the Power of the *States general* in Relation to *Embassadors*; I shall reserve what I have to say on that Subject to the third Part of this Book.



SECT IV.
OF THE
COUNCIL OF STATE,
AND
General Chamber of ACCOMPTS.



THE Erection of the COUNCIL of STATE was projected by the STATES of Holland, Zealand and Utrecht, in Concert with that great Politician WILLIAM the First, PRINCE of ORANGE. The tragical and unexpected Death of this PRINCE, contrary to all Expectation produced very little Alteration in the Measures that had been taken in his Life Time, for

for the Establishment of this Council, which the STATES GENERAL erected in the same Year 1584, with a very ample Authority. Affairs of State, both foreign and domestic; the Army and Revenue, were all entrusted to her Care: but the STATES Themselves soon grew jealous of this extraordinary Power, which They resolved to reduce gradually; and accordingly by a new Instruction in 1651, the Disposition of military Affairs, and the Command of the Army, from being peculiar to the Council, was in Part transferred to the *States general*; who now give Orders for the Safety and Defence of the State; the Motion of the Troops and the Operations of the *Campagne*. But this is not done without consulting the Council however, which still retains the Care of raising and disbanding; cloathing and arming the *Soldiers*; of *Exercises and Reviews*; and in general of all the *military Discipline and Economy*. She is likewise charged with the Care of the *Fortifications and Magazines* of *Gelderland* and *Overyssel*, which make the *Frontier* of the *seven Provinces*.

Business of State, especially that which is *foreign*, depends now entirely on the *States general*; but the Council still retains the Inspection of the general Revenue of the *Union*, and gives orders for Payments; on which

Account the TREASURER GENERAL has his Seat at this Board, and *a Right to debate but not to vote.* (a) The Office of *Treasurer* is for Life, which gives him an Opportunity of acquiring so perfect a Knowledge of Affairs, as makes Him entirely necessary. 'Tis He who prepares every Year under the Authority of the *Council* an exact Account of the Funds necessary for maintaining the *Troops* and *Officers* in Pay, and all other *Expences* that regard the Generality; which is what they call *l'Etat de la Guerre.*

The RECEIVER GENERAL attends here likewise, to instruct the Council what Funds are in his Hands; which being done, He withdraws. The Treaty of *Union* obliges each Province to levy certain Taxes, to be applied to the common Necessities of the whole Body; but this Article could never be executed, and probably never will, because the *Inland Provinces*, who have little or no Commerce, cannot possibly pay an equal *Quota* with Those where Trade flourishes. The following Proportion is what each Province always pays in the Sum of one Hundred *Gilders* or *Florins.*

(a) The French call This, *une Voix excitative.*

<i>Gelderland</i>	<i>F.</i>	5: 11: 2
<i>Holland</i>		57: 14: 8
<i>Zealand</i>		9: 1: 10
<i>Utrecht</i>		5: 15: 5
<i>Frixieland</i>		11: 10: 11
<i>Overyssel</i>		3: 10: 8
<i>Groningen and the Ommeland</i>		5: 15: 6
<i>Country of Drent</i>		19: 10
	<i>F.</i>	100: 0: 0

They do not always confine Themselves however within their settled Proportions; but raise such Sums, and by such Ways and Means, as they think proper, of which they send their *Quota* to the *Receiver General*, and *employ the rest as they please*. In Time of *War*, when the ordinary Revenues are not sufficient for the necessary Expence, the *Council* demands the Settlement of *new Funds* from the *States general*; and to these extraordinary Expences the Provinces contribute in the following Proportion.

<i>Gelderland</i>	—	<i>F.</i> 5:12:13
<i>Holland</i>	—	58: 6: 4 $\frac{1}{4}$
<i>Zealand</i>	—	9: 3: 8
<i>Utrecht</i>	—	5:16: 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Frizeland</i>	—	11:13: 2 $\frac{1}{4}$
<i>Overyssel</i>	—	3:11: 5
<i>Groningen</i>	—	5:16: 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
		<hr/>
		<i>F.</i> 100 0 0

And the little Country of *Drent* furnishes One per Cent over and above.

In the Assemblies of the *States General*, and *Provincial States*, the *Suffrages* are not taken *capiatim* but *provincialiter*; and therefore the *Provinces*, and the *Towns*, may send what Number of *Deputies* they please, because they all *virtually* have but one *Voice*. But in this *Council* the *Provinces* are represented by such a Number of *Deputies*, as bears a tollerable Proportion to the *Money* which each of Them contributes for the Support of the *Whole*, with Exception only to *Groningen*. *GELDERLAND* has One, *HOLLAND* Three, *ZEALAND* Two, *UTRECHT* One, *FRIZELAND* Two, *OVERYSEL* One, and *GRONINGHEN* Two; who with

with the Deputies of the Nobles, and Governors of Provinces, are the Persons that compose the Council of State. And here each Member has a *decisive Voice*, and presides in his Turn, without Regard to the Rank of the Provinces.

For the Regulation of ACCOMPTS between the Provinces, and auditing those of particular Receivers; with the Income of the Lands which belong to the State in General, there is a CHAMBER of ACCOMPTS, composed of *fourteen Deputies* of all the Provinces, and two Secretaries, who likewise do the Business of *Auditors*, and *Correctors*. This Chamber examines the Accompts of the several Admiralties, who receive the Money arising from Duties of *Importation* and *Exportation*, appropriated by the States to the Service of the Navy. In the same manner, she superintends and regulates the Expences of the States Deputies, who travel and execute Commissions for the Public; the Salaries and extraordinary Expences of *Embassadors*, *extraordinary Deputies*, and other *Ministers* employed in foreign Courts; and keeps an exact Register of all Orders made by the Council of State, for whose Ease, She was indeed chiefly erected.



S E C T. V.
OF THE
ADMIRALTY
OF THE
UNITED PROVINCES.



THE ADMIRALTY of the United Provinces is divided into five different Courts, which are those of the *Maeſt*, *Amsterdam*, *North Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Frizeland*. The First, which resides at *Rotterdam*, consists of

of twelve Commissioners, of whom, seven are elected by the *Province of Holland*; and the remaining Five, are deputed by *Gelderland, Zealand, Frizeland, Utrecht, and Overyssel*. The second *Admiralty*, which is that of *Amsterdam*, is composed of six Members for *Holland*, and one for each of the other six *Provinces*. I am ignorant of the exact Number of Commissioners that compose That of *North Holland*, which resides at *Horn*, and *Enchuisen* alternatively, removing every three Months. The *Admiralty of Zealand*, is fixed to the Town of *Middleborough*, and consists of eleven Commissioners, four of whom are deputed by *Holland*, a fifth by the *Province of Utrecht*, and the other six Members are of *Zealand*, and serve at the same Time as the *Council of State* for that *Province*. The fifth *Admiralty*, which is that of *Frizeland*, is established in the Town of *Harlingben*, and consists of ten Commissioners; four of the *Province*; two for *Groningen* and the *Ommelands*; one for *Gelderland*, and another for *Holland*. Each of these Courts has a *Secretary*, a *Fiscal* or *Solicitor General*, a *Receiver*, a *Commissioner General*, who superintends the *Seizures* and *Customhouse Officers*; , and a *Comptroller General* of the Duties of *Importation* and *Exportation*;

tion; with Numbers of inferior *Commissaries*, or *Customhouse Officers*. The Commissioners of these several Courts are elected by the *States* of their respective Provinces, who exact an Oath from Them, that They have given no *BRIBE* to obtain their *Election*. They must likewise swear, to execute all political Resolutions taken by the *States General*, with the Concurrence of their respective Provinces, and to observe the several Articles of their Instructions, by which among other Restrictions, They are incapacitated, to buy the Merchandize, that is seized by the *Customhouse Officers* of their *Dependance*, and confiscated by Sentence of *Admiralty*; which seems to be a very equitable Reserve, since the *Admiralties* are invested with a particular Jurisdiction by which they are authorized to *judge* and *determine* all Disputes, that arise from Frauds, committed in the *Entry* of *Goods*; and if these Causes are criminal, They Judge in the *last Resort*; but in those that are purely *Civil*, there lies an Appeal from their Sentence, to the *STATES GENERAL* by Way of Revision. The *Admiralty* receives all the Duties of *Importation* and *Exportation*, which the *Provinces* have appropriated to the *Use* of the *Navy*; and when a *War* lessens *Trade*, and

aug.

augments the Expence, the *Council of State* demands an extraordinary Supply from the *States General* for that Service. In the same Manner, when the *States* are resolved on the Number of Ships which the Fleet is to consist of, the *Council* dispatches Its Orders to the several Admiralties, who accordingly, fit out their respective Quotas agreeable to the established Proportion. The *Admiralty of Amsterdam* furnishes *one Third*, and the other *Four*, each a *sixth Part* of the *Fleet*. The Ships are fitted out for the *Sea*, and provided with all warlike and naval Stores by the *Admiralties*, but the Charge of *Victualling* lies on the *Captain*, for which the Provinces allow *seven Pence per Diem*, for each private Man; and about *ten Pence* for each *Officer*; and at the End of the Voyage the *Admiralty* of the *Province* takes off the remaining Provisions at the Price they cost the *Captain*. The *HIGH ADMIRAL*, and in his Absence, the *VICE or LIEVTENANT ADMIRAL*, as he is called in Holland, has his Seat and presides in all the *Courts of Admiralty*. The principal Officers of the Fleet, the *Admirals*, *Vice Admirals*, and *Rear Admirals*, are nominated by the *States General*; and even the private *Captain's*

Captains are chosen by Them likewise, upon a double Nomination of the *Admiralties*, who have only the Power to dispose of *Lieutenancies* and other Sub-altern Employments.



S E C T



S E C T. VI.

OF THE
R E L I G I O N
And METHODS of
Ecclesiastical Government,
Established in the
U N I T E D P R O V I N C E S.



SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE, in his Remarks on the *United Provinces*, says, That possibly RELIGION may do more *Good* in other Countries, but that It did least *Hurt* in *Holland*. SIR WILLIAM, indeed, does not speak in the Character of a *Divine*, but merely as a *Politician*, and as such I conceive his Remark will amount to
no

no less than this, That he thought the Methods of Ecclesiastical Government, established in the *united Provinces*, were better calculated for the *secular Interest* and *Happiness* of the People, than Those of any other State. The great Difference between the CHURCH GOVERNMENT of *Holland*, and that of other Countries, consists in a general Tolleration of *Sects*. At the UNION of UTRECHT, the *States general* declared, as I have observed above, that the REFORMED RELIGION, or if you please CALVINISM, should be the established and public Religion of the *united Provinces*, providing very expressly however, that no Person should be molested or persecuted in any Degree, on Account of his *Religion*, if in other Respects, He behaved as a good Subject, and was obedient to the *Laws*. But this Indulgence for Sectaries has drawn many a bitter *Sarcasm* on the *Dutch*, who have often been charged from thence, with having no Religion at all. At GENEVA which was so long the Residence of CALVIN, LIBERTY of CONSCIENCE is not permitted, Witness SERVETUS who was there condemned and burnt for *Heresy*, in a manner that does very little Honour either to CALVIN or the GENEVOIS his *Cotemporaries*. (a) The same

(a) See COLLET's Life of SERVETUS.

Temper

Temper prevails in the CANTON of BEARN, witness their Expulsion of the *Anabaptists*; but in *Holland*, the Spirit of Persecution seems to be extinct, or asleep at least; and unless it were once, in the Time of PRINCE MAURICE, and BARNEVELDT, when Religion was indeed a Cloak to Party and Interest, there can be no Instance given, of any Person's suffering for his *Faith* in Matters of *Doctrine*, or his Adherence to certain *Exterior Modes of Worship*. I have said enough in the Introduction of this Book to express my own Approbation of this *general Lenity* for *Dissenters*. I leave it to *Divines* to shew its Conformity to the Rules of the *Gospel*; (a) but that it is very consistent with *secular Happiness*, the domestic Peace and Tranquility of the *united Provinces*, is an illustrious Proof, which It is impossible to controvert. Indeed One must be very little acquainted with Mankind, not to be convinced of This; for in the Intercourse and Commerce of the World, the Question is not what *Religion* a Man is of, but whether he is *honest*; and therefore

(a) Voyez *Baßnage* Cha. 39 de sa Description historique du Gouvernement des Provinces unies, intitulé *De la Religion des Hollandois et Apologie des Etats Generaux sur la Tolérance des Séctes*.

Sir William Temple had great Reason to wonder that People should be so straight laced in Matters of *Faith*, about which Mankind in general never were of the same Mind, and so easy as to *moral Virtues*, the Truth and Excellency of which nobody contests.

If I might define the established Religion of the *united Provinces*, I should call it a moderate *Calvinism*. The REGENTS of the Country must be of this Religion, and the Churches are devoted to the Exercise of It. The ARMINIANS are a powerful Sect in *Holland*, both for their Number and Quality ; differing from the *Calvinists* only upon the Doctrines of *Grace*, and absolute *Predestination* ; and It was once a *moot Point* which Persuasion should predominate ; but the Decrees of the *SYNOD* of DORT, and the Fate of BARNEVELDT, put an End to all Competition between the two Parties, and ever since the Death of PRINCE FREDERICK HENRY, who thought fit for Reasons of State to countenance the *Arminians*, their Sect has continued to decline.

The ANABAPTISTS make another Division of the People, and since the Expulsion of their Brethren out of the CANTON of BEARN, They are become very numerous. The QUAKERS have their Assemblies in *Holland* likewise ; and in general, the SOCINIANS, BROWNISTS

BROWNISTS, and all other Sects that have prevailed in CHRISTENDOM, are to be found in the *united Provinces*. The JEWS are extremely numerous in the Province of Holland, especially in *Amsterdam*, where their *Synagogue* is an Ornament to the City ; and in 1725, They had begun to erect very handsome Buildings for the same Purpose, both at *Rotterdam* and the *Hague*.

There are very great Numbers of ROMAN CATHOLICKS in the *united Provinces*; notwithstanding their Religion as Sir *William Temple* observes, is not immediately protected by the *Laws of the Republic*. The same Author has assigned the Reason of This, which is that the STATES believe the *Roman Catbolick Religion* must make Men bad Subjects, whilst It teaches Them to acknowledge a Foreign Power superior to That under which They live: and accordingly They have made several penal Laws to prevent the Growth of It. But as each Province has reserved to Herself the Liberty of regulating Religion within her own Jurisdiction, these *penal Laws* of the *States General* have never been put in Execution. In *Holland* especially neither Prudence nor Policy would permit Them to exclude so large a Body as the *Roman Catbolicks* out of the general Toleration ; and accordingly They are very numerous in the

great Towns of that Province, where the *Magistrates* give Them an equal Protection with other Dissenters. At *Amsterdam* They have not fewer than *twenty four* Chappels. There are great Numbers of the same Communion in *Rotterdam*, and several other Cities ; but They are most numerous in the *Villages*, in somuch that a *Miller*, *Smith*, or any other Mechanic being a *Protestant*, is sure to be a *Beggar* if He settles in the Country ; for the Priests never fail to enjoin their whole Communion to neglect Him. This perhaps may seem strange to the *English* Reader, who considers *Holland* as a reformed Country, and a principal BULWARK of the protestant Religion ; but I speak upon good Grounds, and amongst many Proofs which I might bring of the Truth of what I advance, I chuse to instance the *Remonstrance* made to the *States general*, in 1725, by the *Deputies of the general Synod*, who represented the Growth of *Popery* in the most pathetic Terms, and affirmed that since the Year 1650 the Number of *Roman Catholicks* in the seven Provinces, was encreased THREE HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND, of which They had authentic Proofs. This is plain Evidence both of their great Numbers, and the *Affiduity* of the *Priests* in their Profession ; for considering how many of both Sexes the *Monasteries* and *Nunneries* take off, who

who engage in Vows of *Celebacy* and *Virginity*; and that great Numbers actually leave the *united Provinces* yearly upon these Accounts, to settle in the religious Houses of the adjacent Countries, It will be different to account for so large an Augmentation without the Help of *new Conversions*. As necessary however as it may seem to restrain the Growth of *Popery*, It would be difficult if not impossible to effect it without some Degree of Persecution; and therefore the *STATES* will act in it with the utmost Caution. But were They less delicate, In vain are penal Laws whilst the *City and Village Schools* remain the Overseers and Prosecutors of criminal Affairs; for These will ever dispence with the Practices of the *Priests* for a Sum of Money, which They are always in a Condition to furnish upon such an Occasion.

The *CHURCH* of the *united Provinces*, is governed by a *Presbytery*, where every ecclesiastical Member is equal to another. The Business of particular Congregations is regulated in their respective *Confistories*, composed of the *Ministers Elders* and *Deacons* of the Congregation. But the more important Affairs of the *Church*; all that regards the *State of Religion* in general; *Censures* and *Degradations*; is managed in *Synods*, which are both provincial and general. These assemble twice

a Year, and notify to the *States* the Time of their Meeting, upon which they depute a Member of their own Body to the *Synod*, with the Title of *COMMISSARIUS POLITICUS*, who is always a Person conspicuous for his Learning and Abilities. He harangues the *Synod*, congratulating Them upon their meeting with the Marks of *Harmony* and *Unanimity*, and presides in the Assembly as a sort of *Moderator*. The Presence of one so qualified in Behalf of the *Sovereign*, has a wonderful good Effect on a Body of Men, who might otherwise be apt enough to shake Hands with the Respect They owe their Superiors, and extend their Care to Matters entirely out of their Sphere. This the *States* appear to be extreamly sensible of, and provide accordingly. Every three Years the general *Synod* sends a Deputation to the *States general*, to represent the State of Religion in the *united Provinces*, and desire the Reform of such Abuses, as their own Authority does not extend to: After which the same Deputation goes on to the *UNIVERSITY of LEYDEN*, where They demand to see the authentic Pieces of the *Bible*, that are in the keeping of that *Academy*.

Each *City* pays her own *Ministers* out of the public Revenues; for the *States*, when they assumed the *Church and Abbey Lands*, settled

settled no Funds for the Maintainance of the *Clergy*, whose Salaries are now very much upon an Equality, and are generally about *One Hundred and fifty*, and from thence to *One Hundred and Eighty Pounds Sterling per Annum.*

I cannot end this Section more properly nor give better Evidence to some Things I have advanced, than by inserting the Answer of the *STATES GENERAL*, as entered in their Registers, to a *Memorial* presented to Them in 1725, from the *REPUBLIC of VENICE*, on Occasion of a Dispute that arose between the *JESUITS* and *JANSENISTS* concerning the Election of a *titular Arch-Bishop* of *Utrecht*. Happy, if I may do no Injustice by my Translation, to the elegant Pen of *MONSIEUR FAGEL.* (a)

The Matter being taken into Consideration, it is resolved

‘ To acquaint the most Serene REPUBLIC of VENICE, that their HIGH MIGH-
‘ TINESSES will always have the highest
‘ Esteem for Her; that Her Intercession is

(a) This Gentleman is a present *GREFFIER* or Register to the *STATES GENERAL*, whose great Abilities are too well known to want any Encomium here.

of so great a Force with their HIGH MIGHTINESSES, that they would with Pleasure give her a Proof of It on this Occasion, but that they cannot do it without derogating from the fundamental and inviolable Maxims of their Republic. Which are, that in Matters of Religion and ecclesiastical Discipline, Men ought only to be governed by their Perswasion, without any the least Constraint, or Violence : That every One is free to believe in Point of Religion, That which he judges most proper to obtain the Salvation of his Soul, of which he will be obliged to render an Account to GOD, according to the Lights He has received. That their HIGH MIGHTINESSES judging the RELIGION which They profess, to be the best, and the most conformable to the WILL of GOD, of any that has been revealed to MANKIND, They could wish that all their Subjects would conform to It; but that according to their fundamental Maxims They do not pretend to force any One on this Account; but on the contrary, They will leave to all Men the Liberty of professing that Religion which they believe in their Consciences to be the best, provided at the same Time, They behave Themselves as good and faithful Subjects, and do not undertake any Thing, either

either by Word or Action, that *may*
wound the AUTHORITY of the GOVERN-
MENT; be a *Prejudice* to CIVIL SOCIE-
TY, good MANNERS, the *public PEACE*,
or PRIVATE PROPERTY.

That in conformity to this Way of
Thinking, their HIGH MIGHTINESSES
have and do still tollerate even the
ROMAN CATHOLICKS, as well as other
Sectaries in their Dominions, without
concerning Themselves with their Particu-
lar Opinions, in Relation to the different
Degrees of Authority, which either one
Side or the Other attribute to him,
whom they equally own their *Teacher*,
so long as the *public Peace* is not hurt.
And that thus their HIGH MIGHTI-
NESSES not having hitherto taken Cog-
nizance of what may have passed with
respect to the Election and Consecration of
a *pretended* ARCH-BISHOP of UTRECHT,
who They are informed is since Dead,
They do not pretend to judge whether the
Thing passed according to Order or not.
That the Opinions of their *Roman Ca-*
tholick Subjects being divided upon this
Point, their HIGH MIGHTINESSES cannot
make use of their own Power, nor permit
the interposition of any foreign Authori-
ty, to oblige either Side to abandon
their

their Sentiments, or perswade any Person
to submit Himself with a blind Obedience
to Him whom They call the SOVEREIGN
PASTOR; but are on the Contrary
obliged to support equally both the one Party,
and the Other, against all Oppression and Per-
secution.

That the most serene DOGE of the REPUB-
LIC of VENICE, will please to consider, in
his great *Wisdom*, that their HIGH MIGH-
TINESSES can never permit the COURT
of ROME to exercise an *absolute Power* in
their *Dominions*, which would even go far-
ther than is practised in several *Kingdoms*
and *Countries* where the *Roman Catholick*
Religion is established by *Law*; and extend
to deprive the *ancient SECULAR CLERGY*
of those *Rights*, and *Priviledges* which
they have enjoyed Time out of Mind,
in Favour of foreign *Missionaries*. Which,
when the MOST SERENE REPUBLIC, in
Her great Equity, shall have considered,
their HIGH MIGHTINESSES hope, that
She will employ her good Offices to obvi-
ate all violent Proceedings, and terminate
the present Disputes by Methods of *Le-
nity and Moderation*. That such a *Media-
tion* being conformable to *Justice* and *Pru-
dence*, will be very agreeable to their
HIGH MIGHTINESSES; who on their Part,
will

will preserve the high Esteem and continue
to entertain the good and sincere Friend-
ship They have always had for the *most*
serene REPUBLIC, than which, They will
have Nothing more at Heart.



S E C T



SECT VII.
OF
WILLIAM I, MAURICE,
FREDERICK HENRY,
AND
WILLIAM II,
Princes of ORANGE.

And of the Office of *Stadholder*
both in his Civil and Military Capacity.



Need not inform the Reader
that the Family of NASSAU is
amongst the most ancient of
the EMPIRE, and one of the
most illustrious in EUROPE.
The House of ORANGE, which
became extinct in our late KING WILLIAM,
was

was the eldest Branch of It ; fertile in a Race of *Princes*, who not at all indebted to the Grandeur of their Descent, have always reflected greater Lustre on their Family, than They derived from it. No Character has employed more Pens than That of WILLIAM I. PRINCE of ORANGE, but amongst all Those who have written any thing concerning this Prince, I have not met with one that seems to treat Him with Fairness and Impartiality except HUGO GROTIUS. They all allow the Greatness of his Capacity, and admit that such and such Things were done by Him ; but when they attempt to show us the true Springs and Motives of his Actions, or to ascertain the Ends to which they were directed, their Opinions are as various as their Countries. The *Spaniards*, who suffered by him, all concur to make Him the basest and most ungrateful Person that ever lived. The *French Historians* are divided. *Monsieur Du Maurier*, who was almost the only political Writer of the Reign of LEWIS XIV, whose Works retain any Spark of the antient Gallick Liberty, is not content to make Him the greatest Man of the Age he lived in, but equals Him with the most celebrated Heroes of Antiquity ; even with ALEXANDER and JU-
LIUS CÆSAR, tho' He was neither *success-
ful*

ful in War, nor Eloquent in the Senate.

(a)

But if Monsieur *Du Maurier* be too lavish of his Praise, He is much more excusable than Monsieur *Le Noble*, Attorney General to the Parliament of Metz, who laying aside all Respect, treats Him every where as a mere Incendiary, or Arch-Rebel, without making any Distinction between a Rebellion fomented and cherished thro' mere Ambition, and a necessary Resistance for the Defence of the natural Liberty and Right of the Subject.

NATURE, says *Le Noble*, Had made *Him extreamly proper for the Undertakings to which Fortune had designed Him. He was descended from a noble Family in Germany, and extreamly rich. His Disposition was supple and hypocritical, popu-*

(a) Il ne faut pas tant s'étonner des Conquetes d'ALEXANDER et de CESAR. Le Premier étoit maître de toute la Grèce, et d'une Armée aguerrie : et l'Autre commandoit soverainement la moitié des Legions Romaines qui dominoient tout le monde. Avec ces Forces leurs premières Victoires aiant été l'Instrument des Suivantes, l'un détruisoit l'Empire des Perses et l'Autre la République Romaine. Mais la Vertu de ce Prince Guillaume n'est pas moindre que celle de ces grands Conquerans, en Ce que sans aucunes Forces Il a eu le Courage d'attaquer la Puissance redoutable du Roi d'Espagne Philippe II, &c. Voyez, Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire d'Hollande par Monsieur du Maurier, p. 12.

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lar and insinuating; he was cunning and eloquent; bold in Council and prompt in Execution; most fertile in Expedients when his Affairs were in the greatest Disorder; Constant and vigilant in his bad Fortune; hot and presumptuous in his Good: He hoped all Things and feared Nothing: But with Respect to military Virtues, 'tis certain He never did a single Action that can rank Him amongst the Number of great Generals. He was a Slave to his Ambition, and had no other Religion than his Interest: He was born a Lutheran in Germany; feigned Himself a Roman Catholick in Flanders, that he might inherit his Mother's Estate, and at last died a Calvinist. (a)

(a) La nature l'avoit fait tres propre pour les Entreprises auquelles la Fortune le destinoit. Il avoit une Naissance considerable entre la Noblesse Allemande, & de tres grands Biens. C'etoit un Esprit souple & diffusile, populaire & insinuant, fin & Eloquent; hardi dans le Conseil, prompt dans l'Execution, trouvant aisement des expedients & des Resources dans les Affaires les plus des esperees. Il etoit vigilant & constant dans la mauvaise Fortune; chaud & presumptueux dans la bonne; esperoit Tout, ne craignoit Rien, Mais quant au Vertues militaires, Il n'a jamais fait une seule action qui puisse le mettre au Rang des Grands Capaines. Il etoit devore d'une Ambition demesuree & n'avoit d' autre Religion que celle qui s' accommodoit a ses Interets. Il etoit ne Luthérien en Allemagne; Il feignit d'etre Catholique en Flandre pour y recueillir la Succession de sa mere & mourut enfin dans le Calvinisme. Voyez Histoire d' Hollande par Monsieur le Noble. Tom. 1. Pag. 28. Paris Edition.

Le Noble, dedicated his Book to LEWIS XIV, and it would have disengaged his Patron to have spoken well of the Great Grand-Father of WILLIAM III.

M. DE WIT, who wrote his *Memoires* with a View to persuade his Countrymen that the Interest of the *Princes of Orange* was incompatible with that of the *United Provinces*, yet could not help giving *William I* a very great Character; but the unhappy Prejudice he had contracted for the Family, induced him to accompany it with certain Insinuations, which tho' introduced with abundance of Art, reflect much greater Reproach upon their Author, than on the *Prince*. They were designed to calumniate. (a)

(a) Il se trouve des Gens qui pretendent me contredire, & soutenir que malgre les Services de ces trois Princes, GUILLAUME I. etoit enfin aux femmes et au vin, a la maniere des allemands; qu'Il avoit diminue son Bien considerablement par des Fetsins, et par l' Entretien d'une Cour magnifique; Ce que Lui avoit attire un grand Nombre de Partisans; que S'etant trouve presse par l' Ambition at la Pauvrete Il avoit mesuse de toutes ses bonnes Qualites naturelles; tachant de se rendre le maistre des Pais-bas au Prejudice de son Souverain le Roi d' Espagne, dont Il etoit oblige de soutenir les Droits, comme lui aiant prete serment de Fidelite en Qualite de Stathouder, ou de se demetre de son Employ, et que pour parvenir a son But Il avoit ete oblige necessairement d' exciter et d' augmenter les Troubles dans les Pais bas.

Voyez le Preface aux *Memoires de Jean De wit* p. xix. xx.

Upon

Upon the whole, it is evident enough, both from the Writings of Friends and Enemies, that he was a Person of a most shining and elevated *Genius*; indefatigable in the search of Knowledge, with a Memory so faithful as to retain every Thing He had once acquired; extreamly polite; modest; easy of Access; averse to many Words, but of so sweet a Conversation as to captivate the Hearts of all that approached Him; a great Master both of his Thoughts and Passions; never loosing Sight of that which He had once resolved, but pursuing it with a Constancy that was Proof against the most adverse Fortune. As to his *Ambition*, there is very good Reason to believe, It would have been confined to the *Regency* of the *Low Countries*; and had PHILIP II, thought fit to have left him in that Government, instead of the *Duchess of Parma*, the *Republic* of the *United Provinces* had never been formed. But the Administration of WILLIAM I. could not quadrate with the Scheme of Government laid down by that *ambitious* and *over-politic Prince*. The *Ecclesiastical Tribunal*, and the *sanguinary Edicts* against those that separated from the *Church of Rome*, must have been suppressed; the *foreign Troops* recalled, and the *People* must have preserved their *Priviledges*,

for he would never have lent his Hand to have made slaves of Subjects.

But Nothing can set this *Prince's Character* in so true a Light, as the Marks of Esteem, Confidence and Love, with which *CHARLES V.* thought fit to distinguish Him. That great *Emperor*, who knew Mankind perfectly well, did not only prefer his Opinion in political Affairs before any other, but made him *Generalissimo* of his Forces at so early an Age as two and Twenty ; and *Du Maurier* tells us, the Prince executed that Charge so well, that He built *Charlemont* and *Philippeville*, in the Face of the French Army, commanded by the *Duke De Nevers*, and the *Admiral De Chatillon*, both famous for their Conduct and Bravery. (a) Which seems to prove that the *Prince's Genius* was equally proper both for the Field and the Cabinet ; and that the Event of a *Campagne* depends more on the Goodness of the *Souldiery* than the Skill of the *Leader* : since He, who at two and Twenty was successful against the most experienced Generals, when at the Head of the *Spanish Forces*, was afterwards defeated, almost upon every Occasion, by the same Troops,

(a) *Memoires, Du Maurier:* Page 6.

when obliged to oppose them with new *Le-
vies*, tho' his own Knowledge in *War* was
certainly improved.

We have already said, that the *Prince of
Orange* was sent to *France* in 1559, as
Hostage for the execution of the *Peace of
Cambrai*, where the *Conformity of Genius*
soon established a perfect *Friendship* between
Him, and the great *Admiral COLLIGNI*,
which I cannot help thinking the most for-
tunate Incident of his Life. *Monsieur du Maurier*
compares Them together, with a great deal
of *Justice*, and instances several *Circum-
stances* of their *Fortune*, which bear the
exactest Resemblance one to another. (a)

(a) Ils avoient tous Deux beaucoup de Conduite, de Sa-
gesse, & de Moderation. Ils demeloient tous deux les Af-
fairs les plus difficiles & les plus embrouilles. Ils ecoutoient
'un & l'autre plus qu' Ils ne parlotent. Ils etoient per-
suasifs & remplis de bons Conseils. Ils avoient tous
deux le Cœur, l'Estime & la Veneration même de Ceux de
leur Parti. Leur Courage etoit plus haut que leurs Adver-
saires; leur Constance etoit admirable a les supporter; Ils
ont été souvent battus, & toujours ont trouve des Ressour-
ces glorieuses dans leurs malheurs. Ils ont tous deux eu en
tete les deux plus puissans Rois de la Chretiente. Ils se sont
servis tous deux, pour le maintenir, des secours d'Alle-
magne & d'Angleterre. Ils ont été de mems Tems, & ont
pasé tous deux cinquante Ans. Ils ont soutenu tous deux
la même Religion: & L'ont établie L'un en France, &
l'Autre au Pais bas. Ils ont été tous deux proscrits: & leurs
Têtes mises a Prix, &c. *Mémoires du Maurier*, Page 170,
& les Suivantes.

But *Le Noble* Endeavours with a great deal of Malice to sully the Friendship of these great Men. (a) The *Admiral Colligni*, says He, ' That Bulwark of *Heresy*, who had formed the predigious Design of changing the *French Monarchy* into a *Republic*, or at least of establishing an *Aristocracy* in the very Heart of the Kingdom ; this great Captain, who lost four Battles against his King, without being reduced, and who could not be destroyed but by being included in a general Ruin ; this consummate Politician finding the *Prince of Orange* a fit Person to be the same Thing in *Flanders* that he was in *France* ; that is to say, The *Fire-Brand* of his Country, had very little Trouble to infuse all his Poisons into Him, and inspire Him with a Resolution to foment those Divisions and Disorders, which *Heresy* had already sown in the *Low Countries*

The Reader will easily distinguish the *Chaff* from the *Grain*. When the *Prince of Orange* and *Admiral Colligni* had discovered that the the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, consulted on proper Methods to exterminate

(a) *Histoire de Hollande*, par *le Noble*. *Tom. 1.* *Page 29.*
& *Suiv.*

the *Protestants*, (a) It was very natural for Them to unite their Councils for the Preservation of themselves, and their Adherents. *Colligni* was always a *Calvinist*, and the *Prince of Orange* was born a *Lutheran*, and educated in that Profession, 'till he was twelve Years old, when his Father sent him to the Court of *Charles V.* with a View to facilitate his Succession to the Possessions of the House of *Chalons*, to which He had been left sole Heir. It is not to be doubted therefore, that the Principles of his early Education were still warm upon his Heart, or rather, that he was still a *Protestant*; but we must not conclude from thence, that he would have kindled a *Rebellion* in the *Netherlands*, merely to have introduc'd a Change in Religion: Neither indeed, was the War undertaken for the sake of *Religion*, so much as in Defence of the common Rights and Liberty of the Subject. (b)

I do not undertake to write the History of *William I.*, which is comprised in the *Annals of Grotius*, and in the Writings of several others, tho' not with the same Justice and Impartiality. *Duc Maurier* has given us an Epitome of his Life that contains

(a) See Page 15. (b) Page 21.

several curious Particularities; but as the generality of Persons understand *French*, it will not become me to recapitulate what may be found to better Advantage in his *Memoires*. I cannot finish my Account of this *Prince* however, without giving the Reader an Extract of the Charge and Proscription published against Him by *Philip II.* and his Answer. In this Writing the King reproaches Him with the Favours He had received from his Father *CHARLES V.*, particularly, that under his Patronage, He had succeeded to *Rene de Naffau, & de Chalon, Prince of Orange*. That the King himself had made him Governor of *Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and Burgundy*, *Knight of the Golden Fleece*, and *Privy Councillor*. That being a *Stranger*, He had loaded him with Benefits and Honours, which he repaid with *Ingratitude*. That he had instigated the *Nobility* to petition against the Establishment of the *Inquisition*. That He had introduced *Heresy* into the *Low Countries*, and invaded the *Roman Catholick Religion* by breaking the *Images* and demolishing the *Altars*. That He had made *War* against his *Leige Lord*. That He had opposed all Accommodations, even the *Pacification of Ghent*, and that He had broke the *perpetual Edit*.

Lastly,

Lastly He declares Him *ungrateful*, a *Rebel*, a *Disturber* of the *public Peace*, a *Heretick* and a *Hypocrite*: that He looked upon Him as a *Cain*, a *Judas*; as one whose *Conscience* was *seared*; as a *wicked*, *perjured* and an *impious* *Wretch* who had *Children* by a *Nun*, whom He had inveigled from her *Cloyster* to marry Him; as the *Author* of the Troubles in the *Low Countries*; as the *Plague* of *Christendom*, and the *Enemy* of *Human Kind*. That for these Reasons He *outlawed* Him; giving his *Estate*, his *Body*, and his *Life* to those who could take them. That in order to deliver the *World* from his *Tyranny*, He promised on the *Word* of a *KING*, and as a *Servant* of *GOD*, *twenty five thousand Crowns* to any one that could take Him either *alive* or *dead*, with *Impunity* for whatever *Crimes* He might have committed before, and to *ennoble* Him in Case He was not already a *Gentleman*. And further He declares all the *Prince's Adberents* to have forfeited their *Nobility*, *Honours* and *Estates*, if in a Month after the Publication of this *Proscription* they did not separate themselves from Him, and return to their *Obedience*.

In Answer to this cruel *Proscription* which came out in *June 1580*, the *Prince* published a long *Apology* in *December* following, wrote with a great deal of *Spirit* and *Eloquence*.

In this Piece, after having submitted the Examination of his Life and Actions to the *States General*, He declares, that He found Himself obliged against his natural Inclination and Custom, to discover *several Enormities* which He had much rather have concealed; and that if He had not found Himself loaded with Calumnies and Injuries, He would have contented Himself, simply to have answered the *Proscription*, and have proved It unjust. That his *Enemy* who drew it, and the *Prince of Parma* who published it, not having been able to make an End of Him either by the *Sword* or *Poison*; were now endeavouring to destroy his Reputation by their malicious Scandal.

With Respect to the *Benefits* with which He was reproached, He acknowledges to have received a great Deal of Honour from the *Emperor Charles V*, at whose Elbow He had constantly been for nine Years together; but that He found Himself obliged to say in Justification of his own Innocence, He never had received any *Benefit* from that *Prince*, but on the contrary had suffered very great Losses in his Service.

That He could not deprive him of the Succession of *Rene de Nassau et de Chalon*, *Prince of Orange*, whose *Cousin German* and *Sole Heir* he was, without a manifest Injustice;

stice; and that therefore this was no *Favour*, unless it may be termed *Liberality* to forbear taking away that which belongs to another.

That far from having conferred any *Benefits* upon Him, the *Emperor* on the contrary, for the Good of his Affairs, being pressed on one Side by the *Protestant Princes* of *Germany*, and by the *King of France* on the other, had, in Prejudice to Him, given away by the Treaty of *Passau*, the *Earldom of Cattenelbogen* to the *Landgrave of Hesse*, tho' It had been adjudged to Him by the *Imperial Chamber of Spire*, with above *two Millions of Rents in Arrear*: And that the same *Emperor* had not performed his Promise of putting his *Cousin German, Rene de Nassau*, in Possession of the third Part of the *Dutchy of Juliers*, which belonged to Him in Right of their Grandmother, *Margaret Countess de la Mark*, tho' his *Imperial Majesty* was indebted for his Success, to the Valour of that *Prince*.

That *PHILIP II*, had deprived him of the *Lordship of Chatelbelin*, when it was above *three hundred and fifty thousand Livres in Arrears to Him*; having most unjustly remitted the Decision of the Cause to his own *Council*, at the very Time when it was upon the Point of being determined by the *Parliament of Malines*, upon which

He

He leaves the World to judge whether the *King* or *He* ought to be taxed with Ingratitude.

That *He* had expended above five hundred Thousand *Crowns* in his *Embassy* to the *Emperor Ferdinand*, and when *He* was *Hostage* in *France* for the Execution of the *Peace of Cambray*; both of which Employments *He* had engaged in against his own Inclination; and that during the *Campagne* in which *he* commanded the whole *Imperial Army*, and had built *Charlemont* and *Philippeville* in the Face of the *French Generals*, *He* had never received more than three hundred *Livres per Month*, which was not enough to pay those that were employed to spread his Tents.

That it had been customary with his *Predecessors*, to spend large Sums, and expose their Lives very freely for the Service of the *House of Austria*. That his Great Grand-Father *Engilbert II Count of Nassau*, being Governor of the *Low Countries* for the *Emperor Maximilian I*, had secured those Provinces to *Him* by the Gain of a Battle.

That his Uncle *Count Henry of Nassau*, had persuaded the *Electors of the Empire*, to prefer the Grandson of *Maximilian*, *CHARLES of AUSTRIA*, to *Francis I, King of France*, and had put the *Imperial Crown* upon his Head.

That

That *Philibert de Chalon, Prince of Orange*, had conquered *Lombardy*, with the Kingdom of *Naples* for the *Emperor*; and by taking *Rome* and *Pope Clement VII* his Enemy, He had crowned Him with Glory and Grandeur.

That the Nephew of this *Philibert, Rene de Nassau, et de Chalon*, his Cousin *German*, expired at the *Emperor's Feet*, then at St. *Difer*, after having repaired the Loss of a Battle by the Conquest of *Gelderland*: And that upon the whole, if those of the *House of Nassau* had never appeared in the World, or, if the *Princes of Orange* had not performed so many considerable Exploits, His *Majesty* would not have carried so many different *Titles* at the Head of that infamous Proscription which declares Him a *Traytor*, and loads Him with the Imputation of *Crimes*, to which those of his Family have always been Strangers.

That in Requital of such signal Services, and so great an Expence, there was not one single Instance to be given of Gratitude in the *Austrian Family* towards the *Princes of Orange*.

That the *Kings of Hungary* gave his Predecessors several Peices of *Cannon* for indelible Proofs of their Valour in defending them against the *Infidels*, which had been carried off from

from his Castle of *Breda*, when the *Duke of Alva* tyrannised over the *Low Countries*.

To his *Majesty's* Reproach of having made him *Governor of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht and Burgundy*; *Knight of the Golden Fleece*, and *Privy Councillor*; He replies, that if He owes any Obligation on these Accounts, It must be to the *Emperor Charles V*, who had ordered it thus, in Consideration of his Services, before his Departure for *Spain*. That the *KING* Himself had forfeited the Order, by the Violation of its Statutes, which provide that the *Knights* shall only be tryed by their *Companions*; whereas his *Majesty* had executed the *EARLS of EGMONT and HORN, BERGUES and MONTIGNI*, upon a Verdict given against Them, by a Set of contemptible Wretches, contrary to the Oath he had taken as *Knight of the golden Fleece*. That as to the Government of *Burgundy*, It was his by *hereditary Right*, the *PRINCES of CHALON* having always enjoyed it without Competition or Interruption: And for his Post of *Privy Counsellor*, He stood indebted for that to the *Intrigues and Policy of Cardinal Granvelle*, who hoped by that Means to screen Himself and his ill Administration, under the *Prince's* Name and Authority, in whom the People placed an extream Confidence.

To

To the *Kings Charge* of his having drawn a *Nun* from her *Cloyster* and married Her ; The *Prince* replies, that this is a popular Objection thrown out on purpose to render Him odious to the People : That he who takes upon him to accuse another, ought to be innocent of all Blame ; but that it was an *Impudence* in the *KING* who was himself covered with Crimes, to reproach him with a Marriage solemnized according to the Laws of GOD. That when he espoused the *INFANTA* of *PORTUGAL*, he was at the same time married to *Donna Isabella Osorio*, by whom he had three Children : that he had murdered his own SON for having spoken in Favour of the *Netherlands* ; and poisoned his third Wife *Madam ISABELLA*, Daughter of *HENRY III*, *KING of FRANCE* ; in whose Life-time he had publickly kept *Donna Eufratia*, whom he forced the *Prince of Ascoli* to marry when she was with Child by himself, that his natural Child might inherit that *Lord's Estate*, who died for Grief of this Treatment, unless it were, *says the Prince*, that he had taken down a *Morsel* easier to swallow than digest.

That since this Time *Philip II*, had not been ashamed to commit *Incest* publickly, by marrying his *Neice*, Daughter to his own *Sister* by the *Emperor Maximilian*. And if his *Majesty*

Majesty pleads a Dispensation for this ; It must be then from the *God of the Earth*, replies the *Prince*, for certainly the *God of Heaven* would never have permitted it.

That it was as strange as insupportable that one blackned with *Adulteries, Poisonings, Incests and Parricides*, should object his Marriage to him as a Crime, which had been approved by his Father in Law *Monsieur de Montpensier*, a more perfect *Catholick* in Reality than the *Spaniards* were in *Grimace*. That tho' his *Princess* had entered into Vows in her *Nonage*, which in the Opinion of the greatest Men was contrary to the *Cannons and Rites of the Church*, and tho' there had been no *Protests* on that Occasion, yet he was not so ill a *Divine* as to be ignorant that all human Compacts, framed and entered into merely on a Principle of self-Interest, are in Themselves void and null in the Sight of *God*.

To the *King's* Objection that he was a *Stranger*, the *Prince* answers, that his *Ancestors* have for several Ages been in Possession of different Earldoms and Baronies in *Luxembourg, Brabant, Holland* and *Flanders* : and that those are always considered as *Natives of a Country*, who have Estates in it.

That

That his *Majesty* then was a *Stranger* rather than Himself, being born in *Spain*, a Kingdom always at Enmity with the *Netherlands*; whereas the *Prince* was of *Germany* a Country in the Neighbourhood of the *Provinces*, and always in Friendship with Them. But, adds the *Prince*, It will be said that He is *KING*, and let Him be such in *Castile*, *Aragon*, and *Naples*, in the *Indies*, and in *Jerusalem*; and *Lord of Asia* and *Africa*, if he pleases; but for me, I can only acknowledge him in the *Quality* of *Duke* and *Earl*, whose Power is limited by the Priviledges of the Country, which he has sworn to observe. And let his *Majesty* and the *Spaniards* be informed, if They are yet ignorant of It, that the *Barons* of *Brabant* have often made their *Princes* feel their Power, when They have attempted to extend their Authority beyond its Lawful and Natural Limits. The *Prince* ends this *Section* of his *Manifesto*, by observing, that it was with a very ill Grace, the *King* termed Him a *Stranger* in the *Netherlands*, considering that his Ancestors were *Dukes of Gelderland*, and possessed very great Estates in that Country, whilst his *Majesty's Predecessors* were only *Counts of Harpsburg*, living obscurely in *Switzerland*, and unknown to the *World*.

The

The *Prince* affirms, That It had always been the Aim of the *Spaniards* to subject the *Provinces* of the *Low Countries*, and govern Them tyranically, as They do in the *Indies*, and in *Naples*, *Sicily*, and *Milan*. Which being very well known to the EMPEROR CHARLES V, he had told his Son PHILIP in the Presence of the *Prince* of *Orange*, the old Count de *Bossut*, and several others; That unless he suppressed that Pride of the *Spaniards*, it would one Day prove the entire Ruin of the *Provinces*. But that neither the Paternal Authority, the Prosperity of His People; neither Justice, nor the Sanction of his Oath; Considerations that bind the most barbarous Nations, were of Force sufficient to restrain the Violence of his Passions, or his Desire to Govern them in an arbitrary and tyrranical Manner.

That the *States* of the *Netherlands* having voted the *King* a considerable Supply of Money, by the Help of which, joyned to the Courage of the *Nobility*, He had won two considerable Battles, which enabled Him to make the Peace of *Cambray*, equally profitable for Himself as disadvantageous for his Enemies; his *Majesty* could not deny, in Point of Gratitude, that the *Prince* had been a principal Instrument in making that

that Peace, having treated it privately, with the *Constable de Montmorency*, and the *Marshal de St. Andre*; after his *Majesty* had given Him his Orders to that Purpose, and assured Him that He could never do Him a more important or a more acceptable Service; being resolved to go into *Spain* at all Events.

But these Successes says the *Prince*, obtained by the Blood of the *Nobility*, and Supplies advancéd by the *Commons*, instead of engag-ing his *Majesty's* Benevolence, were con-considered as so many Treasons against him; be-cause the Money was voted on Condition that the *States General* should assemble, and that It should pass through the Hands of *provincial Commissaries*, in Prejudice to *BARLAIMONT* and other *State Harpies*; which two Restrictions the *Prince* affirms to have been the mighty Crimes that in-spired the *King* and the *Spaniards* with their implacable Hatred for the *Flemmings*.

Here he extends his Reflections, and says, that the Assembly of the *States General* having been a certain Check to the grow-ing *Tyranny* of ill *Princes*; was the constant Object of their Hatred; but that on the Contrary, She had ever been happy in the Love and Veneration of such as were the real Fathers of their Country, who

N con-

considered Her as the truest and best Support both of their own and the Subjects Happiness. The second Point that gave Umbrage to the *Spaniards*, was that of demanding *provincial Commissaries* for the Administration of the Revenue; and the *Prince* says, He had known *Ministers* take more Pleasure in the Money they plundered from the Public than in the Income of their own Estates; who to prevent a Scrutiny into their Conduct, would never fail to exasperate the *Prince against his People*, and employ a thousand Arts to keep Them asunder, that They might continue to rob with Impunity. He concludes, with assuring the *States General*, to whom he more immediately addresses his *Apology*, that He had been present in Debates and Councils, when the *Spaniards* had devoted Them all to a general *Massacre*, agreeable to their Practice in the *Indies*, where, He says, They have cut off and exterminated thirty Times as many People as were contained in the *Netherlands*.

To the *King's Charge* of his having formed Intrigues to acquire the Hearts and Affections of Those that were fond of Novelties, especially such as inclined to new Persuasions in *Religion*; and to have been the Author of the *Petition* against the *Inquisition*: He confesses ingenuously always
to

to have been of the *reformed Religion* in his Heart ; his Father, *Count William of Nassau*, having introduced It into his Territories. He affirms to have had It from the Mouth of *HENRY II*, when Hostage at his Court, That the *Duke of Alva* was then concerting a Method for exterminating the *Protestants*, not only in *France*, and the *Low Countries*, but throughout *Christendom* in general. That for this Purpose they had determined to set up the pitiless *Inquisition* in the *Netherlands*, whose Severity was such, that the least Contempt of an Image was Cause sufficient to devote a Man to the Flames ; and therefore not being able to suffer the Destruction of so many innocent Persons, He had taken a Resolution to exterminate the *Spaniards* ; and that had he been well seconded in so just and generous an Undertaking, there would by this Time have remained nothing of Them in the *Netherlands*, but their Bones and Sepulchres.

That for the Petition against the *Inquisition*, objected to him as a Crime, He esteemed it his very great Honour to have advised it, as the only Means to prevent those infinite Mischiefs, which afterwards afflicted his Country. And for the Religious Assemblies of the *Reformed*, he still advised the *DUTCHESS OF PARMA* to permit Them, Things being in such

a Condition that they could not be suppressed without manifest Hazard of a general Subversion.

The *Prince* complains that the *Spaniards*, after doing their Worst, both against his Person and Estate, had made his Eldest Son a Prisoner, and carried him into *Spain*, in open Violation of the Priviledges of the University of *Louvain* and the Country of *Brabant*: affirming that so rigorous and unjust a Treatment absolved him from his Oath, and authorised him to make *War* upon his Enemy; there being a reciprocal Obligation or Compact between the *Dukes of Brabant* and their *Vassals*: That the Subjects owe their Obedience to the *Prince*, who is on his Part obliged to maintain their Liberties; the principal of which are that he shall not change the *Constitution* of the Country by any particular *Ordinance*; that he shall content himself with the ordinary *Revenue*, and lay no fresh Impositions on the People without Consent of the *States*. That he shall not raise *Forces*, or alter the *Value* of *Money* without the same Concurrence; nor make any Person a *Prisoner*, or send him out of the Country, without the Knowledge and Interposition of the proper *Magistrate*. That agreeable to this, the *Lords of Brabant*, are entrusted by the *Constitution*, with the *Militia* of the *Province*,

vince, and are obliged to protect and defend its Priviledges ; which when they neglect to do, They ought to be considered as perjured Wretches and the Enemies of their Country ; that the *King* had not only violated one, but all of these *Priviledges* upon numberless Occasions ; having in Defiance of all Right, rob'd him of his *Estate*, his *Dignities* and his *Son*, in Consequence of which His Highness was entirely disengaged from his *Oath*, and at Liberty to do himself Justice by *Arms* ; especially as the *King* shewed no Disposition to repair his Faults, but had despised and rejected the Interposition of the EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN, as well as the Supplications of his Subjects, and executed their *Deputies* against the *Law of Nations*.

To the *King's* Charge of his having formed the UNION of Utrecht which is made his greatest Crime ; He observes that every thing that is salutary or expedient for the *States*, is disagreeable to the *Spaniards*, resolved upon Tyranny and Oppression. The *Prince* owns himself the Author of that Treaty, hopes to be recognised as such thro' all *Europe*, and exhorts the *States* to the strickt Concord for the Preservation of their Liberties.

When the *KING* alledges the *POPE's* Dispensation of his *Oath*, the *Prince* reminds his *Majesty*, that the Obligations of Obedience

and Protection being reciprocal between him and his Subjects, must become void at the same Time. He says, the *Duke of Alva* was upon the Point of hanging the principal Persons in *Brussels*, for opposing the exorbitant Tax of the Tenth Penny ; that he had actually given Orders to prepare *seventeen Cords* ; that the *Didum* of the Sentence was written ; and that the *Spanish Guards* were upon the Point of taking Arms to maintain the Execution, when the happy News of the taking of the *BRILL* arrived and saved Them from the *Gibbet*. The *Prince* adds, that as *HANNIBAL* had sworn the Destruction of *Rome* upon the Altar of his Gods, so the *Duke of Alva* had devoted Himself to the Ruin of the *Low Countries*, as was very apparent from his Cruelties ; and that if the *Master* might be known by his *Servant*, the *King's Design*, and natural Inclinations were sufficiently denoted by the *Tyranny* of that merciless Minister.

These are the principal Heads of the *Prince's Manifesto*, which I thought my self obliged to insert for the Satisfaction of the Reader. They serve to illustrate his Highness's Character, and shew Us upon what Grounds he undertook the Defence of the *Netherlands*, and the Establishment of the *Republic* of the *United Provinces* against *Philip II.* The *Prince* would very willingly have engaged the *States* to

to have printed his Declaration in their Name; but some of the Provinces declined This both as they thought the *Manifesto* too severe, and because they had not a particular Knowledge of the Crimes laid to the *King's Charge*: so They contented themselves with publishing a *Placard*, in which They declared the *Prince* falsely accused; that He had accepted the Government of the *Provinces* at their earnest Request; offering Him a Guard of Horse for the Safety of his Person, and begging Him to continue his Care for the Protection of their *Liberties*; promising Him an exact Obedience, and the utmost Deference for his Orders and Councils, which they acknowledged to be directed to no other End than their Preservation.

This was the true and genuine Sense not only of the *States General*, but of the whole People of the *Seven Provinces*, after which, We cannot wonder if the *Prince's Death* was universally regretted. He was assassinated at *Delft* on the 8th of *July*, 1584, in the fifty second Year of his Age, by One *Balthazar de Gerrard*, a Native of *Villefans* in *Burgundy*. The Murderer introduced himself into the *Prince's Family* by means of certain Passports, signed in Blank, by *Count Mansfelt*, *Governor of Luxemburg*,

which the *Prince* intended to make Use of for his own *Couriers*, and by that Means manage a Design upon the Towns of that *Province*. With this View he entertained *Balthazar* in his Service, and finding Him an intelligent Person, the *Prince* dispatched him into *France* upon some private Negotiations, from whence he had returned Post, with the News of the *Duke of ALENCON*'s Death; and *Le Noble* informs us, that being brought to the *Prince*'s Bed-side, to give Him the Particulars of that Accident, He would then have executed his Design, had He been provided with his Dagger. But some Days afterwards, the *Prince* having ordered Him to take another Journey, *Balthazar* attended at the Head of the Stair-Cafe, under Pretence of receiving his last Orders as his *Highness* came from Dinner, and having presented his Passport, whilst the *Prince* waited for Pen and Ink to Sign It, the Villain shot Him into the Breast with three Bullets; upon which He fell, and had scarce Time to invoke the Mercy of GOD before He expired.

The *Assassin* had taken all imaginable Precautions for making his Escape; and in the extreme Confusion that followed his Blow, He had made off to the Town Ditch

Ditch, but was taken as He prepared to Swim over It. He was no more than seven and Twenty, or as others say, two and twenty Years old; with a Resolution that deserved a better Gause. No Tortures could make Him confess who had engaged Him to commit so horrid an Action; yet tho' He died without owning any Thing, except, that were It undone, He would do It again; It is not to be doubted, either that he was immediately instigated by the Spaniards, or tempted by the Reward promised in the *Proscription*.

Never was there so sincere or so universal a Mourning, as for WILLIAM I. The People had lost their *Father*, and the *Commonwealth* its Founder and Support. The STATES GENERAL were inconsolable and in the utmost Consternation. Some proposed laying hold of the general *Amnesty* offered by the *King of Spain*, and so to return into their Obedience to that *Crown*. But OLDEN BARNEVELDT, who had been very much in the Confidence of *William I*, and had served Him in the latter Part of his Life, with great Capacity and Integrity, opposed this with a-bundance of Vigour, and equal Succes. He represented to Them that their Affairs were not in so desperate a Condition. That

That indeed the *Republic* had lost Her chief Support in the Person of *William I*, but that he had left behind Him a Son, then a *Student at Leyden*, who by the strong and early Indications he gave of a *noble Mind*, and a *virtuous Disposition*, appeared capable of supplying his Father's Place.

This was PRINCE MAURICE, whose Character and Actions we are now about to consider.

He was Son of WILLIAM I, by his second Wife, ANNE of SAXONY, Daughter to the ELECTOR of that Name so famous for his Opposition of CHARLES V. MAURICE was but Eighteen at his Father's Death; an Age extremely unequal to the Cares of War and Government, but the Authority and Persuasion of *Monsieur de Barneveldt* were superiour to every Obstacle, and accordingly the Provinces of Holland and Zealand immediately declared the Prince their Governor, tho' indeed, he did not fully enjoy that Dignity, 'till some Years afterwards: For the States General, who could not hope to support Themselves without foreign Assistance, first offered the *Sovereignty* of their Country to HENRY III, KING of FRANCE; who being pressed and harrassed by the GUISES at the Head of the LEAGUE, assisted by the Courts of Madrid and Rome, was in no Condition

dition to accept It; Upon which They made the same Offer to QUEEN ELIZABETH, who refused it in her Turn, but entered into a Treaty by which she obliged herself to send them the EARL of LEICESTER to be their *Governour* and *Captain General* and to supply them with five thousand *Foot*, and one thousand *Horse*, the Charge of which the *States* were to repay to *England*, when they should be settled in *Peace*; and in the mean time her *Majesty* was to have *Flushing*, *Rammekins* and the *Brill*, delivered to her as *Securities* for the Re-imbursement of the Money. The EARL arrived with the *English* Forces at *Flushing*, in *December* 1585, and after having taken Possession of the cautionary Towns, went to the *Hague* in *February* following, where he was received with all outward Demonstrations of Joy, proclaimed *Governour* and *Captain General* of the *States*, and invested with all the Authority of the *Stadholdership*. It would be the Business of a general *Historian* to describe the Conduct and Actions of this *Lord*, during his Administration in the *United Provinces*; but this is neither consistent with my present Design, nor would the Task be agreeable. An *Englishman* could not have more Pleasure in tracing the Marks of *Queen Elizabeth's* Glory,

ry, than Resentment for the weak Conduct of her *Favourite*; which was the more to be apprehended by the *Republic*, as the great and successful DUKE of PARMA had now succeeded to the Government of the *Low Countries*, who by knowing how to temper Clemency with Rigour, bid much fairer than any of his Predecessors, to recover the *Seven Provinces* to the *Spanish Obedience*. But the *Earl of Leicester* having renounced his Authority, It was soon apparent, that whatever had been wanting in him, or whatever the Public had lost in *William I*, was sufficiently made up in young *Prince Maurice*, who was hardly past his *Childhood*, when he revived the Fortune of the *Commonwealth*, and taught his Countrymen the Way to Glory and Victory. He reduced the *Spaniard*, and revenged his *Father*.

No sooner was he invested with the Command of the *Army*, than he began to invent new *Exercises* for the *Souldiers*; new *Machines* and *Engines* for the *War*; and to reform the relaxed Discipline of the *Troops*. GROTIUS tells Us, It was admirable to see so Young a Man, become at once a great *Captain*, and an Instructor of others in the Military Arts, who Himself had never

never had a Master. (a) His Endeavours were ridiculed in the Beginning, by Those who were ashamed to learn what they did not understand; but after the Success of some Experiments, their Contempt was turned into Admiration, and the World was obliged to confess, that as no Man excelled *William I.*, in the Arts of Government; in acquiring the Affections of the *People*, and laying the Foundation of a *Commonwealth*; so no Man was so proper as *Prince Maurice* to extend and defend It. Fortune was so constant to Him, that in the Course of twenty Years, he took thirty eight or forty Towns, a greater Number of Forts, and beat the *Spaniards* in three pitched Battles. Happy had It been if the Glory he acquired by *Arms*, had not been sullied by his *Ambition*. But This unhappily made Him resolve the *Ruin* of *MONSIEUR DE BARNEVELDT* who had been one of his *Father's* most intimate Confidents, and the only Means of his own Support in the Time of the *EARL of LIECESTER*. The *Prince* had for a long Time loved and revered this wise Mini-

(a) See the Annals of *Grotius*, Lib. V.

ster, as his Benefactor and second Father ; but when *Monsieur De Barneveldt* appeared in Favour of the Truce proposed between the ARCH-DUKE and the UNITED PROVINCES, the *Prince*, who considered the Cessation of the *War*, as the End of his own Glory and Authority, could not help shewing his Resentment to Him upon all Occasions ; and *Monsieur Du Maurier*, tells Us, he forgot himself so far, as to give the good old Man the *Lie*, and even to strike Him at a public Conference. (a) The *Prince of Orange* employed every Argument to perswade HENRY IV, to abandon those that proposed the *Truce*, as a Thing entirely contrary to the Interest of his Kingdom, because the *Spaniards* being easy on the Side of the *United Provinces*, would be at Liberty to turn their whole Force against *France* : and in *Holland* a Multitude of Pamphlets were published, accusing *Barneveldt* and his Party of Treason, and Intelligence with the *Spaniard*. But this Minister represented to HENRY IV, by his *Embassadors*, that the *Commonwealth* was so drained by an Expensive *War* of Forty Years,

(a) *Memoires Du Maurier.* Page 293.

that it was impossible to support the Charge of it any longer, without very great Assistance from Abroad. That the *State* was loaded with excessive Debts, the Interest of which, must be regularly paid to Those who had lent their Estates to the *Public*, the greatest Part of whom, had no other Revenues. That the Taxes already settled for the Maintenance of the *War*, were not sufficient to continue It; yet if his *Majesty* would please to furnish Them with the necessary Supplies, They would still go on with greater Courage than ever. But the *KING*, whose Coffers were likewise exhausted, thought it more eligible to concur in the pacifick Measures that were proposed, rather than continue the *War* at the Expence of *four Millions* a Year, which He would have been obliged to have furnished Them; and accordingly the Truce took Place under the Influence of his Authority, notwithstanding the continual Opposition of *Prince Maurice* and his Dependants.

From this Time the *Prince* laid hold upon every Occasion to ruin *Monsieur De Barneveldt*, whose Council *HENRY IV*, had followed, preferably to his Advice and Interest. Yet before he would come to an Extremity, He endeavoured to make that great Man his own, by the Inter-

Interposition of his Mother in Law the *Princess Dowager of Orange*; but this not taking place, he set about to revenge Himself by all the Methods in his Power; raising *Monsieur De Barneveldt* a thousand Enemies whom He flattered with the Hopes of making their own Fortunes upon the Ruins of that *Minister*.

But notwithstanding the ready Disposition of *Prince Maurice*, there was yet no apparent Guilt in *Monsieur De Barneveldt* or his Adherents; and consequently they could not be proceeded against with any Colour of Justice, But for This, *Religion* soon furnished a specious Pretext.

The Disciples of *GOMAR* and *ARMINIUS* had divided the Sentiments and Affections of the People upon different Points of Doctrine, The *Gomarists* maintained, agreeable to the Opinion of *Calvin*, that God by an eternal Decree, had ordained who should be saved and who should be damned; and that this necessarily influenced and drew Part of Mankind into the Way of Piety and Salvation, whilst the Rest remained buried and sunk in the Multitude of Vices common to humane Nature.

The *Arminians* said on the contrary that GOD who was a just Judge, and a most indulgent Father, made this Difference between

tween Sinners, that such who repented of their Faults should obtain Mercy and Life everlasting, whilst those that remained impenitent and obstinate should be punished. That GOD wished all Men to enter into the Way of Salvation, and had given them excellent Precepts to that Purpose ; but that neither religious Men nor Sinners were compelled by any Necessity ; and that the Fate of every one depended on his own free Will.

These Opinions divided the *State*, and were very warmly contested. 'Twas frequent to hear Doctrines condemned in the Afternoon from the same Pulpit where they had been taught and recommended in the Morning. Sometimes the People had come to blows in Defence of their Preachers. *Murders* had been committed, and Tumults were grown frequent in all the great Towns of the Provinces.

The STATES GENERAL had met several Times in order to redress these Disorders ; and amongst the several Expedients proposed in their Assembly, *Monsieur De Barneveldt* was of Opinion, that the *Professors* of *Divinity*, and *Ministers* should be forbid to make any Mention of the Points of *Grace* or *Predestination*, either in the Universities or Churches ; and that in the same manner

all *Printers* should be restrained from publishing Books relating to either of those Doctrines. He said that Men ought mutually to bear with each other, and not seperate themselves, and form different Assemblies and Communions to the Scandal of the *Church*. That these Doctrines were in themselves so *subtile*, and so much above the Reach and Understanding of the People, that the Country would not fail to recover its usual Tranquility as soon as the Disputes concerning them should be silenced. That there would still remain a very ample Field to the *Ministers*, either for the Consolation or Instruction of their Hearers, by exhorting them to practice the Commandments of *God*, and the Virtues of *Christianity*; and by explaining the *Text* of the *Old* and *New Testament*, which had no other Tendency than to inspire Mankind with Sentiments of *Peace* and *Charity*. Lastly *He added*, that the Doctrine of *Predestination* was so very obscure and difficult that the greatest *Divines* were lost in it.

But *Prince Maurice*, and those of his Faction, who were glad of the least Pretence to ruin *Monsieur De Barneveldt*, opposed his Sentiments with a great deal of Warmth, and took this Occasion to enforce their former Insinuations, that he held a Correspondence with

with the *Spaniards*, and had a mind to introduce the *Roman Catholick Religion*, which was alone capable of destroying the *Republic*. Pamphlets were published, charging Him plainly with being a *Pensioner to Spain*, and of having formed the detestable Design of reducing his Country to its former Slavery.

Monsieur De Barneveldt on his Part, published a long *Apology*, in which he answered the Calumnies thrown upon Him, by representing the many Services He had performed for the Public. But the other Party made the *Majority*, and were supported by *Prince Maurice*, who had the Army at his Disposal, and was adored by the Multitude, who could not be induced to believe He intended Them any Injury, after having taken infinite Pains for a long Series of Years, and run the most imminent Hazards for their Safety and Defence.

In vain did *Monsieur De Barneveldt* complain to his *natural and only Sovereigns* the *STATES of HOLLAND and WEST FRIZEAND*; and in vain did *These* take Him under their Protection. The *Prince* was deaf to Privileges that opposed his Designs, and resolved to make his own Power, which he cunningly masqued under the Name of the *States general*, superior to that of the particular Provinces.

Agreeable to This, *Monsieur De Barneveldt* was arrested by an extraordinary Order in the Name of the *States General*, Signed only by eight Members of that Assembly, all of them Dependents and Creatures of *Prince Maurice*. Three of his Friends were seized at the same Time, and committed to different Prisons; *MONSIEUR HOGERBEIS Pensionary of Leyden*, a Man of known Capacity and Integrity; *MONSIEUR LEYDENBERG Secretary to the Provincial States of Utrecht*, and the great *HUGO GROTIUS Pensionary of Rotterdam*. They were accused of enormous Crimes against the *State*, and amongst the Rest, of having formed a Design to plunge the Country in Blood, and deliver It up to the *Spaniard*. This heavy Charge was posted up at every Corner, in order to render them odious to the People; But their real Crime was that of having opposed the ambitious Designs of *Prince Maurice*, who a little before their Detention, had entirely broke thro' the Constitution of the *Republic*, by arbitrarily changing the Magistrates of several Places in *Holland*, as well as in the *City of Utrecht*, where He likewise disbanded the Garrison newly raised and maintained by that *Town*, agreeable to her Priviledges. This he did in the Name of the *States general* as *Conservators of the Republic*,

lic, which was no more than a Veil artfully drawn, to hide the Truth of his Designs from the *Populace* at Home, and the *Neighbouring Princes* abroad ; who being ignorant of the Constitution, might falsely imagine the Sovereignty of the *Seven Provinces* to be lodged in that Assembly.

Whilst the above-mentioned Gentlemen were in Prison, the *Prince* and his Party convened a *General SYNOD* at DORT, which they termed *national*, as if the *Seven Provinces* made but one People, in Prejudice to their distinct Liberties, which reserve to each of them the Right of regulating Religion within their respective Districts.

This Assembly to outward Appearance was extremely solemn. Besides the Members of the several Provinces, It consisted of Deputies from our KING JAMES I, from the ELECTOR PALATINE, the LANDGRAVE of HESSE, the protestant CANTONS of SWITZERLAND and the Towns of GENEVA, BREMEN and EMDEN.

But it was soon evident from the Conduct of these *Divines*, that they met together to condemn their Opponents rather than refute Them ; and accordingly the Doctrines of ARMINIUS were declared *heretical* and *scandalous*, tending to introduce *Papery* into the *United Provinces* ; and in Consequence

quence of this all Those *Divines* who were either known to be *Arminians*, or suspected for such, were suspended from officiating in their Functions, banished the *United Provinces*, and forbid to return under severe Penalties.

The Decisions of the *Synod of Dort* may justly be said to have fixed the Fate of *Monsieur De Barneveldt*; who was now brought to his Tryal and condemned to Death on the 12th of May, 1619, by a Set of Commissioners, chosen in Reality by the *Prince of Orange*, tho' nominated by the *States General*, in manifest Violation of the Rights and Privileges of the *Provincial States of Holland*, his natural and lawful Judges. And to prevent the Complaints of that Assembly, who some time before, by an authentic Resolution of State, had taken *Monsieur De Barneveldt* into their Protection; the *Prince*, by another Insult on their Privileges, removed several of their Members, and substituted others in their Room, that were entirely devoted to Him.

In Pursuance of this Sentence, *Monsieur De Barneveldt* was beheaded at the *Hague*, in the 76th Year of his Age, after having long served the *State* with great Abilities, and been the principal Means of *Prince Maurice's* early Elevation.

It

It cannot be doubted, that thro' all this Scene of Violence and Injustice, the *Prince* acted by CÆSAR's Maxim, (a) with a View to make Himself Sovereign of his Country. But because he did not execute This when It was in his Power, after having destroyed *Monsieur De Barneveldt* and his Adherents, the Friends of the *House of Orange* took Occasion to deny that It had ever been his Intention; in Hopes no doubt to obviate the general Odium which the Avowal of such a Design would cast upon his Memory. But the *Prince's Actions* were of too strong a Dye to admit so favourable an Interpretation. The truth is, that after *Monsieur De Barneveldt's Death*, His *Highness* met with more Obstacles to his Design than he had foreseen. Even those who had assisted to bring on the Fate of that Minister, were upon the whole, as much averse to the Loss of their Liberty, as the Deceased.

And on the other Hand, The *Prince* saw but too visibly, that by the Death, Im-

(a) *Si violandum est Jus, Regni Gratia violandum est; in cæteris Rebus Fidem & Pietatem colas*

Eurip:

prisonment, and Exile of so many Persons, who were well allied, and had served the *State* with Fidelity and Honour, He had entirely lost the Affections of the People. In proportion, as his real Designs came to be discovered, the Odium that had been artfully raised against *Monsieur De Barneveldt* was changed into Pity: and the *Prince*, who was considered as the Author of all the Injustice that had been done Him, from being the Darling of the Public, became its Aversion.

Such was the State of *Domestic Affairs* in the *United Provinces*; and the Situation of Things abroad was still more averse to the *Prince's* Undertaking. The *ELECTOR PALATINE*, upon whom He had a very great Dependance, was so entirely reduced by the Battle of *PRAGUE*, that instead of being in a Condition, to assist *Prince Maurice* upon any Extremity, He was forced to be obliged to Him for Part of his own Subsistence. And on the other Hand, the *EMPEROR, FERDINAND II*, was become so absolute over the *Princes* and *Free Towns* of the *Empire*, that the *Prince* lost all Hopes of the least Assistance from *Germany*.

Chag-

Chagrined with these Disapointments, and penetrated, It may be, with Remorse, for his injustice to *Monfieur De Barneveldt*, PRINCE MAURICE, from being fat, robust, and indefatigable; became lean, languish'd and died in the Beginning of the Year 1625. BREDA was at that Time besieged by the famous SPINOLA. The Prince had taken It by Surprize from the Spaniards, thirty four Years before, when He was yet young in the Command of the Army; and it being a *City* of his own *Patrimony*, a Report was spread that He died of Grief, for not being able to relieve It; but Others, with more Probability, ascribed His Death to the Disquiet and Chagrin he had conceived upon the ill Success of the Schemes He had form'd to acquire the *Sovereignty* of His Country.

PRINCE FREDERIC HENRY, Son of *William I*, by his fourth Wife *Louisa de Colligni* Daughter of the great *Admiral* of that Name, succeeded *Prince Maurice*, in all his Commands, and Authority in the *United Provinces*. This *Prince* had given Marks of an early Bravery in his Brother's Life Time, under whom He learned the Art of *War*; and continued to Command the Forces of the *States General* after

after his Death, with great Capacity and Courage.

To give an Account of his Actions would be to write the History of the *Republic*, and a Journal of the *War*, in which he was so extreamly fortunate, that by a long and constant Series of Success, He at last reduced the *Spaniards* to the Necessity of making the PEACE of MUNSTER, by which they renounced all Right and Title to the *United Provinces*, and by treating the STATES GENERAL as free and absolute Sovereigns, sealed, if I may so speak, the Liberty of the *Republic*.

The *Princes* of *Orange* first received the Title of *Highness* from CARDINAL RICHLIEU, who after his Design upon the *Principality of Orange* had failed, omitted nothing that might flatter Prince *Frederic Henry*; being under a Necessity of preserving the Friendship and Alliance of the *Seven Provinces*, the better to effectuate the ambitious Projects He had formed for aggrandising the *French Monarchy*.

FREDERIC HENRY died in *March 1647*, after having been some Time ill of a Dropsy and other Distempers, which lessened his Capacity and imbibited his Temper.

The

The Good of the *Commonwealth* was the Object of this *Prince's* Actions, through the whole Course of his Administration. He endeavoured, with abundance of Care, to reconcile contending Parties, and in the midst of *foreign War*, to preserve the *domestic Peace* of his Country. To this Purpose He always chose to employ Methods of *Lenity* and *Moderation* rather than those of *Authority*; nor can the utmost Malice reproach Him with any Attempt either secret or open, against the *Liberty* of the REPUBLIC. (a)

WILLIAM II, only Son of *Prince Frederic Henry*, had in his Father's Life-Time, been invested by the *States* of *Holland* with the *Reversion* of the *Stadholdership*; yet, tho' they were sitting when *Frederic Henry* died, they declined for some time to install the young *Prince* in that *Dignity*, to shew that the *Government* was not *Hereditary*, but depended on the *Donation* of the *States*. At last however he was fully invested with all the *Honours* and *Authority* of his *Ancestors*. This *Prince* had married the PRINCESS ROYAL of ENGLAND, Daughter to

(a) *Basnage, Annales des Provinces Unies*, Page 62.

KING CHARLES I. He inherited the Policy of his Grandfather, with all the Courage and Ambition of his Uncle *Maurice*, and traversed the *Peace of Munster* with the same Vigour, and the same Views, that the latter had opposed the Truce of 1609. But not having been able to prevent the Conclusion of that Treaty, He set about to make Himself absolute at Home, and would effectuate in the Beginning of his Administration, that which his Uncle had failed to do at the End of his Life, when his Authority and Power were augmented and strengthened by a long Series of Victory and Success.

It was not long before the young *Prince* had an Occasion to exert Himself.

The Treaty of MUNSTER having settled the Peace between SPAIN and the UNITED PROVINCES; the *States general* applied themselves very industriously to the Regulation of their Revenues. The Province of *Holland*, in particular, was earnest to lessen the public Expence; and in this View proposed amongst other Things, that Part of the Army should be immediately disbanded. But the *Prince of Orange*, seconded by the *States general*, and the *Council of State* represented, that the Peace not being yet made between FRANCE and SPAIN; and those *Crowns* having their *Armies* at the Gates of the *Republic*,

public, It would be prudent to defer for some time disbanding the *Army* till Things should be better settled. The Quality and Number of those Forces that were to be reformed furnished another Subject of Debate. The Province of *Holland* was for preserving the *national* Troops, and disbanding the *Strangers*. The Prince on the contrary said It was not equitable to turn away those who had so well signalized Themselves for their Fidelity and Valour, in Defence of the *Commonwealth*; and demanded that the *Reform* should fall in an equal Proportion between the *national* *Troops* and the *Strangers*. These *foreign Forces* consisted of five *English* Regiments of Foot, five *French*, three *Scotch*, three *German*, and fifteen *Flemish*, which last the Province of *Holland* inclined to reserve, and to disband almost all the Rest, who had served with Honour, even from the Infancy of the *Republic*.

With Regard to the Number that was to be cashiered, *HOLLAND* proposed to reduce the *ARMY* to twenty five thousand seven hundred Foot, and two thousand seven hundred Horse; whereas the *STATES GENERAL* desired to reserve three thousand Horse, with twenty six thousand three hundred Foot. (a)

(a) Voyez les Annales des Provinces unies par Monsieur.
Bagnage. p. 168.

The

The Difference was trifling, and could never have produced a Rupture, had not their Minds been already too well disposed for it.

But *Holland* which paid annually to the Amount of at least *one Million eight hundred thousand Florins* more than her Revenues amounted to, was not only obstinate as to the Number of Troops to be retained, but insisted also that the Rest should be immediately cashiered; and accordingly the *STATES* of that *Province*, without observing the usual Formalities, or having any Regard to the Opposition of the *Prince* of *Orange*, and the *Council of State*, sent Orders to the several *Captains* of their Dependance, to disband their Companies upon Pain of not being paid upon the old Establishment, longer than the *20th of July* of the same Year. (a)

This occasioned a general Discontent. The Officers complained to the *Prince*, to the *Council of State*, and the *States General*. Their *HIGH MIGHTINESSES*, after debating the Point; were of Opinion that the *Province of Holland* had broke the *UNION of Utrecht*; since the Troops having been raised for the general De-

(a) This was 1650.

fence of the *Provinces*, ought not to be disbanded without the same Concurrence; and concluded, by a Majority of Votes, to desire the *Provincial Council of State* to assemble the same Day, in order to revoke the Orders of the *States of Holland*, and give new ones for the Payment of the *Troops* as usual, 'till the Manner of Disbanding them should be regulated by the Common Consent. But the *Council* had no Power to supercede the Orders of the *States of Holland*; wherefore She proposed to convene that *Assembly*, that They might debate a second Time upon a Point which was become much more important than was at first imagined.

The *STATES of HOLLAND* resolved to maintain their first Resolution, and repeated their Orders for the execution of It. The *Governors* of the *Frontier Towns*, were commanded on the Contrary to obey the *States General*.

Thus Disention was introduced between the *Provinces*, which gave the *Prince* an Opportunity of executing the Projects He had formed against their common Liberty.

The *COUNCIL of STATE* with the *PRINCE of ORANGE* as its Head, accompanied by the *COUNT of NASSAU, Governor of Frizeland*,

land, went in a Body to the Assembly of the *States General*, and besought their HIGH MIGHTINESSES to forbid the disbanding the *Army*, in Consequence of the Orders given by *Holland*; and that they would please to send a *Deputation* to the particular Towns of that *Province*, to engage Them to change their Resolution. Besides this, the PRINCE desired that he might be authorised to give the necessary Orders for the Preservation of the UNION, and to oppose whatever might be undertaken to disturb and invade It: declaring at the same time, that he would put Himself at the Head of the *Deputation*, and make the *Tour* of *Holland*, if their high MIGHTINESSES consented to It.

The *States General*, notwithstanding the Opposition of *Holland*, fell into every thing the Prince desired. The *Deputation* was voted; His *Highness* was desired to appear at the Head of It, and authorised at the same Time to give the necessary Orders for the Preservation of the *Union*. This in Effect was creating a DICTATOR; for the Resolution was couched in such Terms as gave the Prince Room to justify whatever He might think proper to undertake.

His *Highness* and the Members of the *States General* set out. Their first Visit was to DORT, the most antient Town of the *Province*

Province of Holland. The Magistrates gave them Audience out of Respect to the *Prince*, reserving the Right of *Sovereignty* to the *Provincial States*, and freedom of voting in the *Senate*. *Monsieur Aertsbergue* spoke for the *Deputation*. He represented the dangerous Tendencies of the Conduct of *Holland*, both against the *Union of Utrecht*, and the established *Religion*, for the Defence of which *WILLIAM I.* had engaged the People to take *Arms*. He expatiated upon the Authority of the *Council of State*, to whom the Power of *raising* and *disbanding* the Forces had been entrusted; and enlarged upon the several Propositions of Accommodation which had been in vain proposed with respect to disbanding the *Army*. He said that if *Holland* was loaded with *Debts* and *Taxes*, the other *Provinces* had the same Causes of Complaint, or rather that they had none of them just Reason to complain of That which was the unavoidable Consequence of a long *War*. He insinuated to the *Magistrates* that they had given their *Deputies* Instructions to oppose the Reform of the Troops, notwithstanding which they had consented to It; and lastly, he extolled the Excellence of the present Expedient for terminating the Misunderstandings that had hapned, for which he said, there could not be a more proper

Remedy than this *Deputation*, with the Prince of *Orange* at its Head.

To this strenuous Discourse the *Magistrates* answered simply, that They would give their Opinion in the Assembly of the *provincial States*, in such a manner as should be most consistent with the *public Good*. The World was equally surprized with the Modesty of this Reply, and the Insolence of *Aertsbergue*; who not only demanded a more categorical Answer, but that the *Magistrates* should confess to have violated the *Union*, and deserved *corporal Punishment*. He concluded with threatening to employ other Methods than those of remonstrating; and behaved so haughtily that He would have run a very great Risque had He not been protected by the Prince's Presence, backed by a great Number of Officers that attended Him. The *Magistrates* expressed their Indignation at this Treatment, acquainted the *Provincial States* with the insulting Menaces that had been thrown out against Them, and resolved unanimously to refuse all Conference with the Prince of *Orange*, and the *Deputies* of the *States general*.

The *Deputation* was better received in some other Towns of the Province; But the *REGENTS* of *AMSTERDAM*, sent two *Burgomasters* as far as *Tergow* to desire the *Prince*

Prince to stop his Journey, because They could not admit his *Highness*, and those that attended Him to an Audience in the Senate: And finding that the Prince kept on his Way, They sent a third *Burgomaster*, with the *President Schepen*, and *Town Secretary*; as far as *Edam*, to acquaint his *Highness* that if He came as *Governor* of their *Province*, He shculd be received with all the Honours due to his *Birth* and *Quality*; but that They could not receive Him as a *Deputy* of the *States General*, because that *Deputation* might be attended with dangerous Consequences. They spoke the same Language when his *Highness* arrived in their City.

The REGENTS of HARLEM and DELFT imitated those of *Amsterdam*. The Towns of NORTH HOLLAND were more complaisant, with Exception to *Horn* and *Medemblick*. The Latter sent to tell the Prince the Roads were *bad*, and that the Town was too small to accommodate his *Highness* and so numerous a *Deputation*, in a Manner suitable to their *Quality*.

The PRINCE returned to the *Hague*; and *Monsieur Aertsbergue* made his Report to the *States General*, complaining of the little Respect that had been shewn to their *High Migneſſe's* *Deputies*. He said, he had found

the *Towns of Holland* divided into four different Opinions. Some professed themselves inviolably attached to the *Union*; Others were *lukewarm*: The *Third* did not explain themselves upon that *Subiect*: And the Rest refused to give the *Deputies Audience*. The *Prince* only added, that He had not met with all the Respect that was due to his Person; but some Days afterwards, his *Highness* was much louder in his Complaints to the *Provincial States of Holland*, and printed his Speech, that it might have the greater Effect on the *Clergy and Common People*, who were intirely devoted to Him. The *States of Holland* on their Part published a *Manifesto* in which They indevoured to justify their Conduct, and sent It to the *States* of the other six Provinces.

A Dispute concerning a Right of Jurisdiction redoubled the Animosity of the several Parties.

Admiral de Wit, who Commanded a Squadron of *Dutch Men of War*, for the Defence of the *Brazils* against *Portugal*, left that Coast, and returned to *Holland* without Orders. (a) The *PRINCE* of

(a) *Annales des Provinces unies*, par *Bastlage*, Fol. 171.

ORANGE, as *Lord High Admiral*, put Him under Arrest, and the *States General* sent their Commands at the same Time to the *Admiralty of Amsterdam*, to confine the several *Captains* that had followed *De Wit's Flag*.

This produced a Dispute of Jurisdiction. The *STATES of HOLLAND*, said It was an Infringement of their *Sovereignty*, to imprison Persons in that Manner, within the Territory of their *Province*, who ought to be left to the Course of ordinary Justice.

But the *STATES GENERAL* justified their Conduct by the Example of certain Captains who had served under *Admiral Pater*, and were made Prisoners by the *Admiralty of Amsterdam*, at their Return; as well as of the Souldiers who delivered up the Bay of *All Saints*, in 1625. And to this They added, that the Law was clear in the Point, since those Officers who received their Commissions from the *States General*, and had taken an *Oath of Fidelity* to them, must necessarily depend on their Jurisdiction, especially for the Tryal of Crimes committed out of the *Extent* of the *Provinces* and in Places where the *States General* had established a *Council*, and a *Court of Justice*.

But the *Province of Holland* was obstinate, and affirmed that the *States General* could exercise no Kind of Jurisdiction whatsoever within her District, unless in certain Cases, with relation to the *Militia*; and that it would be a manifest Violation of her Liberties, to punish Offenders in a Place, where the *natural and lawful Sovereign* was obliged to remit the cognisance of the Crime to the *High Court of Justice*.

Agreeable to this, the *Magistrates of Amsterdam* forced open the Doors of the *Admiralty Prisons*, and released the *Captains* from their Confinement; upon which the *PRINCE of ORANGE* foreseeing the same Thing would be done at the *Hague* in Favour of *Admiral De Wit*, his *Highness* of his own Accord set Him at Liberty; but determined at the same Time, to revenge Himself of the several Insults he had received, and to set his Authority above the Reach of such Attempts for the Future.

The first Step the *Prince* took, in Order to This, was to Imprison *Six* of the *Provincial States of Holland*; Deputies of those Towns that had given his *Highness* an ill Reception. These were *Jacob De Wit* *Burgomaster of Dord*, *Father* of Him who was afterwards *Grand Pensionary of Holland*; *John De Waal*, *Burgo-*

Burgomaster of *Harlem*; *Albert Reuyl* Pensionary of the same Town; *John Duyt De Voorbou*t. Burgomaster of *Delft*; *Nanning Keyzer*, Pensionary of *Horn*; and *Nicholas Stelingwerf*, Secretary of *Medemblick*. (a) *Messieurs Bikker*, Burgomasters of *Amsterdam*, having received an Information that a Design was formed against their Persons, kept close in their City, and avoided the Blow,

The Prince sent to invite the *Deputies* separately, to come and confer with Him upon certain Affairs before the opening of the Assembly. A *Valet de Chambre*, attended in the *Anti-Chamber*, and upon their Appearance, took care to usher them to a several Appartment, where they were lock'd up till the Evening, and then sent to the Castle of *Louvestein* under a strong Party.

In the mean time the *Guards* were doubled, and the *Hague* was in a few Hours filled with *Souldiers*, to keep the *States of Holland* in Awe, and prevent a Rescue.

The Prince sent for *Monsieur Cats*, who was then *Grand Pensionary*, told Him what He had done, and charged Him to ac-

(a) *Annales des Provinces unies par Basnage* p. 172.

quaint the *States of Holland* with It ; letting Him know at the same Time, that He had ordered Troops to march under the Command of the *Count de Nassau*, Governor of *Frizeland*, for the Reduction of *Amsterdam*. His *Highness* was persuaded that He was already Master of the Town, and told *Monsieur Cats* He would set out that very Day to put Himself at the Head of the Troops.

The *Grand Pensionary* would willingly have excused Himself from undertaking so disagreeable a Commission. He beg'd the *Prince* to write down the Names of the *Deputies*, and the Motives that had induced his *Highness* to confine Them ; The Fear and Surprize with which he was penetrated, having made him incapable, He said, of repeating His *Highness's* Words with that exactness that was requisite.

The News threw the whole Assembly of the *States of Holland* into the utmost Consternation ; They were at a Loss what Measures to take, and adjourned for some Days to acquaint their Principals with what passed at the *Hague*, and receive their Orders.

The

The learned *Historian* * whom I have chosen to follow in my Relation of these Facts, informs us that the Language of the Prince's Party upon this Occasion, was that the *Stadtholder* was originally created to preserve the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and restrain such *Provinces* as might either attempt to dissolve It, or separate Themselves from the Rest. They said, *HOLLAND* had struck an unhappy Blow at the UNION, in disbanding the *Troops* by her own Authority, not only against the Consent, but even in direct Opposition to the *STATES GENERAL*. That so violent a Proceeding gave Room to suspect she had formed a Design to usurp a Superiority over her *Sister Provinces*; but that supposing the best, she had given a very dangerous Example to the Rest, who would at any time think Themselves equally at Liberty to disband the *Troops* that were in their Pay; insomuch that the *Republic* might be left entirely naked and defenceless. To this, *they added*, that a violent Disease could not be cured but by a Remedy of the same Nature, which their **HIGH MIGHTINESSES** understood so well,

* *Monsieur Bajnage.*

that they had invested the *Prince* with an unlimited Power to act as He thought fit.

But the *Republicans*, irritated at this Conduct, complained loudly of those *tempo-rising Courtiers*, who sacrificing the *Commonwealth* to their private Interest, ed the *Prince* by Degrees to a *Despotick Power*. 'Twas with the utmost Concern They saw the *Liberty* of the *States* violated ; a Number of *Deputies* imprisoned, and the Rest intimidated and heartless, at a *Crisis* when all their Courage was requisite to assert the Liberties of the *Province*. In vain, *said they*, have we resisted the *SPANISH YOKE*, if we must now receive that of the young *PRINCE of ORANGE*. In vain was so much *Blood* spilt, to establish a *Monarchy* for the *House of Nassau*.

In the mean Time, the *Prince*, who covered his Actions under the *Resolution* of the *States General*, by which they authorised Him in *general Terms*, to employ the *necessary means* for the *Preservation of the UNION*, and the *Prevention of whatsoever might be undertaken to its Prejudice*, thought it proper to let their *High Mightinesses* know the Use He made of the Power they had entrusted him with. This was done in His *Highness's Name*, by the *President of the Week* ; But notwithstanding

standing the Respect and Affection of the States for the *Prince* and his *Family*, their Concern was very great; and 'twas apparent enough from their Surprize, that they had never entertained an Idea, that the general, unguarded Expressions, in which their *Resolution* was couched, could have been construed into an Authority to *imprison* Six of the PROVINCIAL STATES, and lay Siege to the principal *City* of the *United Provinces*.

But the *Prince* had thrown the *Die*, and would not retract It. He believed the Success of all his Designs depended upon the Reduction of *Amsterdam*, and resolved if possible, to make Himself Master of It.

To this Purpose He had ordered *Count Dbona* and *Monieur De Somelsdick*, to draw out Part of the neighbouring Garrisons, and rendezvous at *Abcou*, situated about two Leagues from *Amsterdam*, where *COUNT WILLIAM of Nassau, STADTHOLDER of FRIZELAND*, was to join Them, so as to be before that *City* by Break of Day, where they were to possess Themselves of a Gate, before the *Burghers* had Leisure to prepare for its Defence; and to facilitate the Execution, *Major Gentillot* a *Frenchman*, had conveyed Himself into the Town on the Evening before, with fifty Men, who were to

to secure the Guard, and open a Gate to the Besiegers.

The *Magistrates* and *People* of *Amsterdam*, were in so great a Security, that at the first News of this little Army, they concluded Them to be some Vagabond Souldiers belonging to the *Duke of Lorraine*, that were ventured out a Moroding; far from suspecting that the *Troops* of the *State* could be engaged in such an Expedition. The Enterprise was well concerted, and miscarried through very trifling Incidents. Tho' in the Middle of *Summer*, the *Night* was so obscure and rainy, that the *Horse* mistaking their Way, did not come up to the Place of *Rendezvous* 'till long after the Time appointed; and what was still of more Importance, the *Officer* who commanded Them, not being in the Secret, permitted the *Hamborough Post-Boy* to go on, who allarmed the whole Town with an Account of what He had seen, which was soon confirmed by an *Express* from the *Governor* of *Muyden*, giving an Account, that a considerable Body of *Horse* were in full March on the Side of the *Diemar*.

The People surprised with the Approach of the *Troops*, run in Crowds to offer their Service: The Cannon were brought to the Ramparts, and several Men of War, and Frigates

Frigates, were put in Order for the Defence of the *Port* and the *River Amstel*. The *Senate* debated whether They should lay the Country under Water, by cutting their *Dykes* and opening the *Sluices*; but the more moderate Opinions prevailed, and They determined only to admit so much Water, as was necessary for the Security of those Places that were easiest of Access.

The Seige of a Town situated in the Bottom of a *Gulf*, surrounded with *Fens* and *Marshes*, and to which It was impossible to make Approaches, except by Causeways and narrow Roads, intermixt with an infinite Number of *Canals*, could not but be exceeding difficult; and accordingly the *Count De Nassau*, no sooner found his Design was discovered, than he knew it to be impracticable.

The *Prince* received the News of This upon *Saturday* in the Evening, and was extreamly affected with the ill Success of an Enterprize, in which his Honour and Authority were equally concerned. He believed, says my *Historian* upon this Occasion, *what Princes commonly believe*, that his *Presence* would immediately dispel all Difficulties; and thus on *Sunday* Morning, after having been at Church, and heard the Remonstrances of the two *Provincial Courts* of

of Justice, He took Horse in View of the *States General*, and set out to put Himself at the Head of the *Troops* that were before *Amsterdam*, followed by a great Number of *Officers* and *Nobility* who determined to share his Fortune.

His *Highness* sent circular Letters the same Morning, to all the *Provinces*, except *Holland*, acquainting Them, that having received Orders from the *States General*, for the Re-establishment of the UNION, He had taken the necessary Measures for that Purpose. That having represented to the *States of Holland*, in the most pathetick Manner, the Mischiefs into which they were about to precipitate the *Republic*, He had afterwards addressed himself to the particular Town of that *Province*; but this Remedy having only served to inflame the Sore, He found Himself obliged, in order to come at the Root of the Disease, to imprison certain disaffected Persons, who disturbed the Repose of the *Commonwealth*, and to possess Himself of the Town of *Amsterdam*. Lastly, He hoped the *Provinces* would not only approve, but also concur in his Design, and assist Him to chastise Those who disturbed the *public Peace*; protesting before *God*, that he had no other View, than the Re-establishment of the Tranquility, and Good

Good of his *Country*, with the Security of the *Reformed Religion*, for the Preservation of which He was ready to sacrifice his *Life*.

On the Road between the *Hague* and *Amsterdam*, his HIGHNESS found *Monsieur De Beverweert*; who tho' related to the Family of *NASSAU*, had not been of the *Prince's Cabinet* when this Undertaking was resolved on. In order to make his *Highness* comprehend his Danger, He carried Him upon the *Dyke* which separates the *Tey* from the *Sea of Harlem*. 'Observe, says he to the *Prince*, 'this immense *Quantity* of Water, which it will be impossible to resist, if the *Magistrates* of *Amsterdam* resolve to make Use of it to drown your *Forces*. This once determined; the Height and Impetuosity of the Water will be redoubled by opening their *Dykes* and *Sluices*, and your *Army* will perish under the Walls of a Town, which it is impossible to take if they will hazard every thing for its Defence. The Thing was evident; and the *Prince*, who perceived that the Safety of his *Army* depended on the Arbitration of the *People* and *Magistrates* of *Amsterdam*, desired *Monsieur De Beverweert* to make all the Haste he could to the *Hague*, and engage the *States General* to recall His *Highness*, by a *Deputation* which might screen his Honour, and pre-

preserve Him the Affections of the People, by his appearing to lay aside the Seige in *Deference to the Councils of the Republic.*

Before *Monsieur Beverweert* could get to the *Hague*, *Monsieur de Bronkurst, President of the Week*, had already notified the *Prince's* Departure to the *States general*, and his Design upon *Amsterdam*. Their *HIGH MIGHTINESSES* were of Opinion, that the Source of the Evil was in the *Province of Holland*, and that it was impossible to redress it without her Concurrence; wherefore they voted a Deputation to the *States* of that *Province*, conjuring them to stop the Course of so dangerous an Emotion. The *States of Holland*, on their Part, went in a Body to the *Grand Pensionary*, desiring him to use his utmost Endeavours to terminate this Affair, either by procuring a *Repeal* of the Resolution of the *States General*, upon which the *Prince of Orange* grounded his Measures; or that a Deputation should be sent to the *Prince*, desiring his *Highness's* Return to the *Hague*, and that he would restore the Commerce of *Amsterdam*, by ceasing all Hostilities, and ordering the Troops to their several Quarters. This was exactly what the *Prince* desired; who whilst Things were thus negotiating at the *Hague*, concluded another Treaty at *Amsterdam*, that was still more advantageous to

to Him. His *Highness* wrote to the *Magistrates*, demanding Admission into the Town, but insinuated at the same Time that He would not enter it, till the Misunderstanding should be made up ; upon which the Regency sent four Deputies to confer with His *Highness*, who agreed upon the following Articles.

First, that the *Prince* should be received into the *City* with all the Honours that had ever been paid to his Predecessors, *Governours* of the *Province* : and in *Quality* of *Member* of the *Council of State*, his *Highness* was promised an Audience in full *Senate*. By the second Article, the Town promised to pay the Arrears, due to the *Troops* that the *Province* of *Holland* had broke, and consent to the Proposition made on that Subject by the *Council of State*, bearing Date the 15th of *July*. Thirdly, the *Magistrates* engaged to employ their good Offices with the *States* of *Holland*, in order to re-establish the *UNION*, and obliterate the Remembrance of what was passed. And lastly, the *Prince* demanded that *Messieurs Bikker*, one late and the other *Regent Burgomaster* of *Amsterdam*, should be supetceded in their Employments, and rendered incapable of bearing any Office in the *City* for the future. These *Magistrates* had very much signalised

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Themselves by their Zeal and Activity for the Defence of the Town, and the *Senate* opposed this Demand with a great deal of Warmth ; but the two *Burgomasters* made a generous Sacrifice of their Employments to the Tranquility of the Public.

Thus finished the Siege of *Amsterdam*. The *Troops* were sent back to their *Quarters* ; the *Prince*, content to have acquired the Liberty of entring the *City*, went away without doing It, the Deputies of the *States General* being informed upon the Road, that the Difference was made up, returned to the *Hague* ; and the *Regents of Amsterdam* executed the Capitulation with Punctuality. But to avoid being exposed to the same Attempts for the Future, They resolved to fortify Their *City*, and settled fifty four Companies of *Burghers* for its Defence.

The Reader will be surprised, considering the ill Situation of the *Prince's Army*, that his *Highness* should have procured such advantagious Terms. But it seems the Town already began to feel the ill Effects of a Siege ; and besides this, the *Prince* had his Party in the *City*, which upon this Occasion was joyned by the *Malecontents*, and both together made a very numerous Bcdy. Satires were thrown about against the

the Magistrates, who amongst other Things, were accused with holding Intelligence with the PARLIAMENT of ENGLAND, because PETERSON, a Senator of Amsterdam, had been sent to CROMWELL, on the Part of the Province of Holland, whilst he refused to admit an *Embassador* from the Republic. This, whether true or false, served to render Them extreamly odious to the Public; the *English* being then, as They are at present, mortally hated by the People of the Province of Holland, especially those of Amsterdam, as their great Rivals in *Commerce*, without which the *Dutch* cannot possibly subsist. The *Merchants* apprehended that the *Siege* would stop the Payment of their Bills, and ruin public Credit, by breaking the *Course of Exchange*; and the PRINCE took Care to strengthen their *Apprehensions*, by giving out, that He intended to change the *Siege* into a *Blocade*, in Order to have Time to reinforce his *Army*. Lastly, It must be owned, that the *Magistrates of Amsterdam*, did not find that Support from the PROVINCE of HOLLAND, which they had Reason to Expect. *Harlem*, opened her Gates to the *Prince's Troops*, and supply'd Them with Provisions; *Leyden*, furnished Them with Implements necessary for the *Siege*; *Delft* sent her *Can-*

non and other Military Stores, laid up there in the provincial *Arsenal*; and of all the Towns of the Province, *Tergow* alone, forbid her *Garrison* to join the *Prince*, in Opposition to his *Highness's Orders*. In this feeble Manner acted the *States of Holland*; so unlike the Descendants of those who had rescued their *Liberty* from the Tyranny of *PHILIP II.*

As for the *States General*, they amused Themselves with fruitless Deliberations, instead of revoking their Resolution, which gave a Colour to the *Prince's Undertaking*. Nor could this be wondred at; for not only the Friends of the *House of Orange* were extreamly numerous in the *Assembly of the States General*: but some of the *Provinces* began to think their Interest different from that of *Holland*.

The Affair of the *Six Prisoners* at *Louwestein*, was yet to be adjusted. *Dort* made pressing Instances for the Liberty of her *Burgomaster De Wit*, and sent her Deputies to the *Hague*, with Orders not to engage in any public Affair, 'till they had procured it. But the other Towns, intimidated by the Siege of *Amsterdam*, did not proceed with the same Vigour; so a Treaty was concluded, by which the *Prince of Orange* engaged to let the *Prisoners at Liberty*,

Liberty, on Condition that They should ask Leave to relinquish their Employments.

In the mean Time, the *six Provinces* who had received the *Prince's circular Letters*, loaded his *Highness* with their Compliments, and Thanks for his Care of the public. They differed from one another in the Warmth of their Acknowledgments ; but all concurred to thank him for his Zeal and Care to preserve the *Union* : and as for the *Siege of Amster-dam*, some stiled it an *heroical Action* ; and all agreed that it was necessary. In Reality the *Prince* had executed every thing the *States general* could wish, both for the Security of the *Union*, and the particular Mortification of the *Province of Holland* ; But, the Means His *Highness* employed were violent, and such as he would never have made use of, had He intended to have confined Himself to the *Province of a Mediator*. From hence it was in a manner evident, that He had formed the Design of making Himself the *Sovereign* of his *Country* ; and tho' nothing was omitted that might possibly conceal the Truth of his Intentions from the Public, yet his *Highness* had the Mortification to find his Views were penetrated, and that He had entirely lost the Confidence of the *People*.

This made the *Hague* disagreeable to Him: So his *Highness* left that charming Village, and went to hide his *Chagrin* at a Country, Seat He had lately purchased in *Gelderland*. Here he spent his Time in Hunting, which was his favorite Exercise, and in reconciling private Differences between the *Nobility* of the *Province*; till being taken ill of a *Fever*, he was brought back to the *Hague* on the 28th of *October*, 1650, where in two Days after his Arrival, He was taken with the *Small Pox*, of which he died in *November* following, in the twenty fifth Year of his Age.

This Accident occasioned an equal Joy and Sorrow in the *United Provinces*. Those *Magistrates* who had been imprisoned and deposed by the *Prince's* Authority, were now re-established with Honour in their Employments; and suffered Themselves to be so far transported, as to forget what was due to Decency. *Medals* were struck, insulting the Memory of the dead *Prince*, amongst which that of *Amsterdam* was most remarkable. This represented a rising *Sun*, and a young fiery *Horse*, extending Himself over the Town of *Amsterdam* with this Motto,

C R I M I N E A B U N O .

D I S C E O M N E S .

And

And in the Margin was added,

QUIA BELLA VETABAT.

Attributing to *Amsterdam* the Honour of having put a Stop to the *War*. On the *Reverse* was seen a *falling Phaeton* with these Words.

MAGNIS EXCIDIT AUSIS.

And at the Bottom was represented the Funeral Procession from the *Hague* to *Delft*.

On the other hand, the Grief that many felt on Occasion of the *Prince's Death*, was inexpressible. The *Clergy* testified their Concern by Funeral Orations, which were so many Panegyricks to the Memory of the deceased. The *Army* regretted the Loss of its *General* and *Patron*; The greater Part of the *States general*, who had always given into the *Prince's Measures*, were apprehensive of a Revolution in the Government of the *Provinces*, which might prove to their Detriment; and the *Princess* was inconsolable for the Loss of a Husband, who after the tragical Death of her Father, and the Flight of her Brothers was her only Comfort. Her *Highness's Grief* was abated however by the Posthumous Birth of a *Prince*, whom she

brought into the World eight Days after his Father's Disease. This was WILLIAM III, *Prince of Orange*, and afterwards, *King of Great Britain*, whose glorious Actions have eternalised his Memory.

WILLIAM II, was extreamly Handsome, but of a Temper inclining to Melancholy. He was seldom seen to laugh, and had from his earliest Infancy, preferred serious Occupations to the common Amusements of Childhood. He had an uncommon Penetration, and a wondrous Disposition for the Sciences, especially the Mathematicks, and was a very great admirer of DES CARTES's Philosophy, tho' it was very much decried in the *Universities* of the *Republic*. He had inherited both the *Politicks* and *Taciturnity* of his *Grandfather*, and it was presumed upon very good Grounds, that He would have equalled the Bravest of his Ancestors in military Performances. His Ambition was unlimited; and as He sacrificed every Thing to It, 'tis probable that had He lived, He would have acquired the *Sovereignty* of the *United Provinces*, either under a fresh Title, or by perpetuating the *Stadholdership* in his Family, as it was afterwards settled in the Time of his Son, *William III*.

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The Death of *William II.*, was attended with several great Events. The Power of the *Stadholder* devolved in a great Measure on the *States* of the several *Provinces*; and in Process of Time, This produced a *perpetual Edict* on the Part of *Holland*, or a *Bill of Exclusion*, which incapacitated the young *Prince of Orange* to enjoy the Dignities of his Ancestors, and annihilated the *Stadholdership* in that *Province*. Nothing was omitted that could possibly weaken the *Prince*, and put it out of his Power to revenge Himself, in Time to come, of the Indignities that were now offered Him; nor can there be a greater Instance of the Instability of human Affairs, than the History of the *perpetual Edict*.

JOHN DE WIT was made *Grand Pensionary* of *Holland* in 1653, whose Hatred for the *Stadholdership*, and Resentment for the usage his Father had received from *William II.*, could be equalled by Nothing but the Greatness of his Abilities, and his Capacity to effect whatsoever he undertook. The *United Provinces* were engaged in a ruinous War with *England*, and sent their Ministers to propose a Peace at *London*.

OLIVER CROMWELL then governed the Affairs of *England*, under the Appearance of a *Council of State*, of which he was *President*. The

The *Embassadors*, were admitted to an Audience in the Council. CROMWELL, answered their Harrangue by censuring the Imprudence of the *Republic*, in making War with so unequal an Enemy. He told Them fiercely, that if He listened to Peace, It could be only under two Conditions. The *First*: That Satisfaction should be made for the Insults that TROMP had given to the *English Flag*, and 2dly, that there should be no Suspension of Arms, 'till the Treaty was concluded. But some Time afterwards, He explained Himself to two of the *Embassadors*, and told Them very frankly, of the Apprehensions he was under from the Extent of the *Dutch Commerce*; adding, that there could never be a sure and lasting Peace between the two Nations, 'till there was a *Coalition of Interests*, by uniting Them under one and the same Government.

‘ Since We have the same Religion, says
‘ *He*, We can do Nothing more agreeable
‘ to *God*, than to unite ourselves strictly, the
‘ better to resist the Eenemies of our *holy*
‘ *Reformation*. The only Object of my Actions
‘ having been the *Glory of God*, this is
‘ your Security for my Sincerity. It is not any
‘ personal Interest that engages me to propose
‘ this *Union* of the two *Republicks*. Content
‘ with having been the *Instrument* of *Heaven*,
‘ in

‘ in accomplishing a Work so important to
‘ Religion, I am far from desiring to draw
‘ any particular Advantage from It. The
‘ two Nations making one and the same
‘ People, shall be governed by a SOVEREIGN
‘ PARLIAMENT, in which the *United Pro-*
‘ *vinces* shall have their Deputies. I will
‘ depend equally on this august *Tribunal*,
‘ with every other Subject; and retain no
‘ more Power than shall be allotted me. (a)

This Proposition first broach'd to the Dutch Ministers by *Cromwell*, was afterwards communicated to them in Form by the *Council of State*. The *Embassadors* astonish'd at so extraordinary an Overture, said all they could to shew the Impossibility of its Execution: But the *Council* was resolute, and threatned to break off the Conferences, if this Article were refused: upon which the *Embassadors* detached two of their Body to consult their *Principals* in *Holland*, and receive new Instructions how to treat so singular a Proposal.

In the mean time the *English* and *Dutch Fleets* engaged. *Admiral Tromp* was killed, and *Monk* obtained a bloody Victory.

(a) *Annales des Provinces unies*, par *Basnage* Fol. 312.

The *Dutch Embassadors* returned to LONDON. They shew'd the Impossibility of a *Union* between the two Nations, and proposed other Measures for an Accommodation. *Cromwell*, affected to be convinced by their Arguments, and after expressing his own good Designs in forming that Project; He told Them, that provided they could agree upon the Superiority of the *Flag*, and a *Duty to be paid to England for the Herrings taken on our Coast*, the *Peace* would be easily concluded. But some Days afterwards, the Commissioners who were appointed to negotiate with the *Dutch*, presented Them the Project of a Treaty, in which besides the Article of the *Flag*, and the *Duty upon Herrings*, were inserted two fresh Demands, implying, that the *States* should engage themselves to exclude the *Prince of Orange from all the Employments of his Ancestors*, and that the *Republic* should not fit out above a certain Number of *Men of War*, without the Consent of the *Parliament of England*.

These Conditions appeared intollerable to the *Embassadors*, who took their Leaves, and prepared to return Home, just as *Cromwell* having destroyed the little Authority that remained in the *Parliament*, assumed the Government under the Title of *PROTECTOR*; which havig created him a great many

many Enemies, He became more disposed to an Accommodation with the *United Provinces*. 'Twas then that having comprehended the Impossibility of engaging the *Republic* to exclude the young *Prince of Orange*, He made a secret Proposition to *Monsieur De Beverning*, a Member of the Embassy on the Part of *Holland*, in which he offered Him the *Peace*, provided the *Province of Holland* alone, would engage by a private and separate Article never to have a *Stadholder*.

The *Embassadors* set sail for *Holland*, and found the *States general* very well disposed to conclude the *Peace*: but as there was a Necessity for consulting the several *provincial States*, and these not being assembled, The *Province of Holland*, which resolved to make the best of the *Protector's* pacific Disposition; ordered *Monsieur De Beverning* back to *London*, in the same Vessel that brought Him over.

So precipitated a Conduct displeased the other *Provinces*. They began to suspect *Holland* of separate Measures, and an Intelligence with *Cromwel*, prejudicial to the common Interest. However, The *States general* resolved to send back *Messieurs Nieuport* and *Jongstal* to *London*, with Orders to join the *Deputy of Holland*, and take upon them the Character of *Embassadors*. *Monsieur Nieuport* was

was of the *Province of Holland*; but *Jongstal* was of *Frizeland*, and had strict Orders from his *Province*, to watch the Interest of the House of *Orange*.

In the mean Time *Monsieur De Beverning*, who had been absent from *London*, but fourteen Days, found the *Protector's* Disposition for Peace very much abated. *Cromwell* insisted more strenuously than ever, upon the Exclusion of the *Prince of Orange*, which there was so little Appearance of obtaining from the *States General*, that *Messieurs De Beverning* and *Nieuport*, durst not so much as communicate the Proposal to their *Colleague Monsieur Jongstal*, *Deputy of Frizeland*; and *Monsieur Bafnage* Himself, assures us, Thar this Point was treated in *Secret Conferences* between the *Protector* and *Monsieur De Beverning*, who at last engaged that the *Province of Holland* should never confer the Post of *Stadholder* and *Captain General* on the young *Prince of Orange*. (a) *CROMWELL*, said He could not sleep at Ease, nor think Himself secure of the *Republic*, whilst the *Prince* entertained any Hopes of possessing the Authority of his Ancestors, which might enable Him to

(a) *Annales des Provinces unies*, par *Bafnage*, Fol. 335.

assist his Uncle CHARLES II, to recover the *Crown of England*. But from the Moment the *Protector* obtained this Promise on the Part of *Holland*, He thought Himself secure on the Side of the *United Provinces*; and *Messieurs De Beverning* and *Nieuport* having assured Him that *Holland* would ratify the Secret Article of the *Prince's Exclusion*; the *Peace* was immediately concluded. (a)

When the *Treaty* came to be ratified, there was then a Necessity of publishing the *separate Article*; which had hitherto been kept an inviolable Secret, not only to the *States General*, but even to the Towns of the *Province of Holland*: And now It was, that the *Grand Pensionary De Wit*, who had hitherto concealed Himself, came publicly upon the Stage. But before He made the *Overture* to the *States of Holland*; He took care to administer an *Oath* to all the *Deputies*, binding them not only to keep secret the Proposition He was about to make; but also not to declare that any *Oath of Secrecy* had been exacted. This

(a) See the *Treaty of Peace and Union* between *OLIVER CROMWELL* as *Protector of England*, and the *United Provinces*, concluded at *Westminster*, *April 25th. 1654.* *Traites de Paix.* Tom. III. p. 647.

being

being done, He acquainted them with the separate Article concluded by their *Minister* at *London*. The Astonishment was inexpressible. Those few who were in the Secret, after counterfeiting a greater Surprize than the Rest, declared for the Exclusion. Others desired leave to return to their *Cities*, and consult their *Principals*; which was granted on Condition, that They should communicate the Affair only to the *Burgomasters*, and such as could promote the Success of It. Upon the Return of the *Deputies*, the Opinions proved to be divided. The Representatives of *Harlem* and *Leyden*, who were at the Head of those that opposed the Exclusion; exclaimed loudly against the Conduct of *Monsieur De Beverning* and *Nieuport*, and were for calling Them to an Account. Upon which, *Monsieur De Wit*, perceiving the Dispute grow violent, made an Offer to determine the Deliberation according to the *Plurality of Voices*. But This was violently opposed by the Prince's Party, who cry'd out, that He was going about to sap the Foundation of the *Union*; and that this being a Matter that related merely to *War and Peace*, the *Unanimity* of the *States* was requisite. Others said on the contrary, that the Establishment of a *Stadholder*, or the Choice of a Person to fill that Post, was one

one of those Affairs that are stiled *domestic*, and absolutely foreign either to *War* or *Peace*; since It depended only on the *Province* of *Holland* to have a *Gouvernour* or not ; or to elect or reject whom she thought proper. This was the Opinion of the Majority, and accordingly It was resolved, ' That His HIGHNESS the PROTECTOR of ENGLAND, having represented to the *Embassadors* of the *Republic* in several Conferences, that in Order to render the *Peace* sure and lasting, between the two Nations, It was necessary to ease Him of the Fear He was under, that if the principal Employments of the *State* were conferred on the *Prince of Orange*, the Alliances of that *Prince* with the Family of the *Stuarts*, would occasion Misunderstandings and Jealousies that might plunge the two Nations into a fresh *War*; therefore, in order to secure the *Peace*, and satisfy his Highness; the *High and Mighty Lords*, the *States of Holland*, promise never to chuse the *Prince of Orange*, nor any of his Descendants, for their *Gouvernour* or *Admiral*; and that this Province will never suffer any of her Members to give their Vote for making the *Prince*, *Captain General* of the *Republic*.

When *Monsieur De Wit*, sent the Ratification to *London*, he carried his Dissimulation so far, as to conjure the *Dutch Embassadors* to make all possible Instances with *Cromwell*, to recede from his Demand of the *Exclusion*. *You cannot do the Province a greater Service*, says He, in his Letter to *Van Beverning* and *Nieuport*, *than to find an Expedient to prevent the delivering of the Act of Exclusion*, which has been obtained with the utmost Difficulty, and to which the *States* would never have consented, but for the sake of avoiding the dire Calamities of War.

CROMWELL died in *September 1658*, and *CHARLES II*; Uncle to the *Prince of Orange*, was restored to the *Throne of Great Britain*, in *1660*. Had the *States of Holland* and *Monsieur De Wit* been sincere, now was the Time to repeal the Resolutions taken in Prejudice of the young *Prince*. The *King of England*, desired It; and They run the Hazard of incurring the dire Calamities of War by a Refusal. But *De Wit*, who had now thrown off the Mask; not only hindred the *States of Holland* from complying with the Instances of *CHARLES II*, but induced them in *1667*, to enact and swear to the Observation of the *perpetual Edict*, which annihilated the *Stadt-*

Stadtholdership for ever, (a) There was not less Art made use of upon this Occasion, than had been employed in 1654, to procure the Ratification of the Treaty made with *Cromwell*. But the Time drew very near, when *Monsieur de Wit* was to repent the Success of his own Management. LEWIS XIV, KING of FRANCE, having invaded the *United Provinces* in 1672, the Rapidity of his Victories threatned the *Republic* with immediate Ruin. In this Distress the People turn their Eyes to the Young PRINCE of ORANGE; the *States* are forced by the necessity of their Affairs to make Him their *Captain General*; He is successful in his first Enterprises, and contrary to all Expectation stops the Torrent of the French Arms; *Messieurs De Wit*, are massacred by the enraged Populace at the *Hague*; The *perpetual Edict* is revoked; the Prince is created *Stadholder*, and that *Dignity made hereditary in his Family*.

What has been said of the *Princes of Orange*, and the *Earl of Licester*, contains in a Manner the entire History of the *Stadtholdership*, from the Formation of the *Republic*. The Abuses of that Office may also

(a) See the *Edict at large, Annales des Provinces Unies par Bagnage*, Fol. 826.

be gathered from the preceding Pages. It remains only to give the Reader a more precise Idea of the Authority and Privileges annexed to It by the Constitution.

When the EARL of LEICESTER came into the United Provinces, *The STATES GENERAL invested him with the supream Command of their Forces, both by Sea and Land, as well as with an absolute Authority for the Direction and Management of all Affairs that related to the Army and Navy.* Besides this, *They entrusted Him with the Administration and Direction of their civil Policy, and Courts of Justice, to be by Him administred as the preceding Gouvernoars of the Low Countries had lawfully done, especially in the Time of Charles V.*

The Oath which PRINCE MAURICE took at his Entrance into this Employment, was conceived in the following Terms. ‘I promise and swear to the CONFEDERATE STATES of the Low COUNTRIES, in the Defence of the *reformed Religion*, and namely to the *high and low Nobility*, and to the *Magnates* of the Towns of *Holland*, and *Westfrizeland*, who represent the States of those Nations, to be to Them, faithful and obedient, and that I will obey, and will so provide, that the *Officers* of the *Army*, the *Captains*, and others who are subject to our Command, do obey the *Laws and Ordinances* of

‘ of the *confederate States* in general, and par-
‘ ticularly *Those of Holland*. (a)

It appears from hence, that the *Stadholder* was under a double Obligation, first to obey the *States general* in such Things as respected the *War*, and the common Interests of the *Confederacy*; and secondly, to obey more particularly the *States of Holland*, composed of the *Nobility*, with the *Magistrates* of the *Towns*, and also to take care that others should obey Them. In his Instructions, it was amongst other Things stipulated, that he should defend, maintain and extend the Right of the public Authority, the *Laws*, and the *common Prosperity*. The *Souldiers* took a parallel Oath to the *States*, and obeyed *Prince Maurice* in all that regarded the *War*.

The *STADHOLDER*, in other Respects, had no Power either to levy or discharge the *Troops*. This was left entirely to the *States*, who indeed consulted their *General*, but were in no degree obliged to follow his *Council*, or defer to his Advice; nor had He any Power over the Payment of the Forces. They likewise reserved it to themselves, to put *Governours* into their *Frontier Towns*; but

(a) See Chap. xi. of *Gratius's Apol.*

other Officers were chosen by the *Stadtholder*, from a double Nomination of the *States*. During the Campaign indeed, the *General* fill'd up all Posts that became vacant, but He could neither take the *Field*, form a *Camp*, besiege an *Enemy's Town*, make an *Inroad* into his *Country*, or undertake any Thing of great Importance, without the Consent and express Order of the *States general*. When he had formed any Design, which ought not to be made public, He told the *States general*, He had something to undertake, which was for the Good of the *State*, without entring into Particulars, lest the Design by being discovered might become impracticable. He described only in general Terms, the Advantages that might be derived from It, and named in Gross, the *Expence* that it was necessary to provide for; desiring the *Assembly* to assign Him two or three Persons, to whom He might make a more particular Discovery. These were granted Him; and afterwards those *Deputies* made their Report to the *Assembly*, without entring however into the Particulars of the *Enterprize*, and when the *States* gave their Consent, the *General* prepared Himself to depart, leaving it to them to provide all that was necessary for the Undertaking. When he took Leave, They assigned Him three or four *Deputies* to represent

sent the State, and be His Councillors in the Army. In other Respects the *Stadholder* modelled the *Council of War* at his Pleasure, and was Master of the *military Discipline*. The *States* gave their *General* for his *military Salary*, *Ten thousand Florins per Month*, to which were added *forty Thousand* for the *extraordinary Expences of the Campaign*; besides upwards of *ten Thousand more* for the *Entertainment of Spies and other secret Services*, for which he was not accountable. Since the Time of *PRINCE MAURICE*, and his Brother *FREDERIC HENRY*, there have been *two STADTHOLDERS in the United Provinces*; the *PRINCES OF ORANGE* were at the Head of *five Provinces*, and the *COUNTS OF NAS-SAU*, governed Those of *Frizeland* and *Grozinghen*; but the *supream Command of the Army* belonged to the *Princes of Orange*.

The Authority of the *Stadholder*, in his *civil Capacity*, was much superior to That of *General*, and of far greater Consequence to the *State*. He was *CHIEF of the Courts of Justice*, insomuch that his *Name* was born at the Head of all *Orders and Sentences*; *GRANDMASTER of the Forests*; *supream CURATOR of the University of Leyden*, and without *Him* they could make no *Law there*.

Upon any extraordinary Occasion, the *STADHOLDER* appeared in the *Assembly of*

the *States general*, where He had a Right to make *Propositions for the public Good*; and It was usual to inform Him beforehand, what Subject was to be debated upon, both in this and the *provincial Assemblies*.

He was likewise, the Arbitrator of all Disputes that arose between the *Provinces*, by Virtue of an Article in the UNION of Utrecht, which lodges that Right in the *Governours of Provinces*. He had the Power of pardoning *Criminals condemned to die*; and what is still of greater Importance, He had a Right of *chusing the Magistrates of Cities*, upon a *double Nomination of their respective Senates*; with Exception to the Town of AMSTERDAM, where He only chose the *Sheriffs*, and the Election of the *Burgomasters*, remained as It is at present, in the Hands of the *Senate*.

The PRINCES of ORANGE had considerable Possessions in the *United Provinces*, which still augmented their Authority as *Stadtholders*; but They were no where so Powerful as in ZEALAND, where of *seven Suffrages* which then composed the *States*, They were absolute Masters of Three; the first, in *Quality of premier Noble of the Province*, and the other two as *Marquisses of TERVEER and FLUSHING*.

The End of the FIRST PART.

